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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE of SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER OF

HENRY THE GREAT.

Newly tranſlated from the French edition of M. de L'ECLUSE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

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M.DCC.LXX.

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VII.

I Remained but ſhort time in the camp before Laon, after this event. Some difficulties which aroſe in the treaties, particularly that with the Baron de Medavy, obliged me, in obedience to his Majeſty's orders, to take a journey to Rouen, which was followed by a ſecond to Paris, and another, more conſiderable than both, to Sedan.

The Duke of Bouillon gave daily new occaſions of diſcontent to the King. When, through his Majeſty's intereſt, he married the heireſs of Sedan, he had engaged to bring him a certain number of troops; but he not only neglected to fulfill this engagement, but alſo retained, without aſking the King's permiſſion, the troops which he had lent him to guard his frontier, till he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of his new principality; nor did he even make any excuſe for not ſending them back, or give him any account of the ſtate

of his affairs. His new grandeur inſpired him with the vanity of making himſelf be regarded in Europe as a formidable potentate. This, which he could not hope from a ſtate ſo weak and circumſcribed as his own, he ſought to obtain by all ſorts of machinations and intrigues in the neighbouring courts. All the incendiaries and malecontents in Europe were ſure of finding a protector in him, and he was the main ſpring that actuated the cabals of Auvergne and Entragues.

One day when the King ſent for me ſo early in the morning that I found him ſtill in bed, having only Ozeray and Armagnac in his apartment, while we were all conſulting upon meaſures to prevent the combinations of his ſecret enemies, his Majeſty dwelt in particular upon the Duke of Bouillon, and ſeemed greatly affected with his ingratitude, after having conferred an obligation upon him which ought to have attached him to his intereſts for ever. In effect, the King, by effectuating his marriage with Mademoiſelle de Bouillon, had given to this Duke a proof of friendſhip ſo much the ſtronger, in that his Majeſty acted againſt his own judgement, and the advice of almoſt all to whom he had imparted it. The day after this converſation, Beringhen preſented a gentleman to the King, in his chamber, who brought him a letter from Bouillon, in which the Duke informed his Majeſty of the death of his wife, and excuſed his delay, by the grief and perplexity into which her death had plunged him. This letter likewiſe gave the King to underſtand, that Madam de Bouillon had left a will, in which ſhe bequeathed the principality of Sedan and all her eſtates to her huſband, and put them under the protection of the King of France; becauſe it was expected, that her relations would give the Duke of Bouillon great diſturbance about this donation. "That is to ſay, (ſaid the King,) when he

"had

" had finiſhed reading the letter,) that the Duke of " Bouillon has great occaſion for my aſſiſtance : Is " he not very civil?"

To humble and puniſh the Duke, his Majeſty was ſtrongly tempted to leave him to ſtruggle all alone with theſe difficulties; but the native ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and the remembrance of the Duke's former ſervices. ſtill prevailed. He anſwered the Duke by a compliment of condolence upon the death of the Ducheſs of Bouillon; and aſſured him of his willingneſs to aſſiſt him. If the King had thought that this laſt mark of his friendſhip would have reduced the Duke of Bouillon for ever to his duty, the commiſſion of him whom he ſent with this letter would have conſiſted in barely delivering it to the Duke : and any inconſiderable perſon might have ſufficed for that : but this Prince, accuſtomed to confer benefits only on the ungrateful, intended to make this deputation anſwer ſeveral purpoſes. He turned toward me, and told me, that in his opinion I was the propereſt perſon to carry this letter; becauſe, if of itſelf it was not able to fix Bouillon in his duty, the arguments of a man, who had a right to repreſent it to him ſtrongly, might perhaps accompliſh it; and that, if neither the one nor the other proved effectual, it was neceſſary to penetrate into the Duke's ſecret intentions, and to examine narrowly the will, and the pretended donation of Madam de Bouillon.

This embaſſy ſeemed perfectly ſimilar to that which had drawn upon me the hatred of the Princeſs and of the Count of Soiſſons; and my firſt emotion upon receiving it was an uneaſineſs that the King's ſervice generally engaged me in affairs ſo diſagreeable. Henry, who gueſſed partly at what paſſed in my mind, forgot nothing which he imagined capable of leſſening the unpleaſantneſs of this commiſſion: he told me, that the ſucceſs

which fortune seemed to annex to all affairs wherein I was employed, as a reward due to my fidelity, induced him to employ me, preferably to any other; that none of my services were left upon him; and that he took extremely kind the attention I always shewed to avoid or break off any connections which were capable of cooling my zeal for him. Speaking these words, he embraced me tenderly; adding, with a kindness that went to my heart, that he intreated me to be careful of my own safety, since I should be obliged to pass through places subject to the Guises, and to preserve myself for a prince who loved me. Princes who behave in this manner cannot fail to be faithfully served.

I was at that time luckily well enough provided with money, having sent for remittances from Rosny and Moret, where my wife was; and so was in a condition to satisfy, without delay, the King's impatience for my departure. Three hours after I had received this order I went to Bruyeres, where my equipage lay, and, followed by five and twenty troopers well armed, in four days I arrived, without any bad accident, within view of Sedan. The Duke, being informed of my arrival, came to meet me as far as the village of Torcy, which separates this little state from France; there he alighted and put on a sad countenance to receive my compliment, and to read the King's letter. He then loaded me with personal civilities; seemed charmed with the choice his Majesty had made; and persisted (notwithstanding my repeated instances) to treat me as an ambassador. I was lodged magnificently, and all the expences of my retinue defrayed. He shewed me, with great complaisance, the fortifications he had raised about his castle of Sedan, by which he was confident that it would be impregnable. I was not of the same opinion; all the expence the Duke

was

was at to ſtrengthen this place, could not ſupply the defect of its ſituation.

The ſiege of Laon, of which the Duke inquired the news, afforded us matter for entering into a more particular converſation. After reiterated aſſurances of his attachment to the King, the Duke aſked me, if the many ſubjects of complaint which his Majeſty had received from the Spaniſh Low Countries, had not determined him to carry the war thither; and ſpoke to me of this project, as an affair which he ardently wiſhed to ſee executed. He expatiated upon the advantage of this war; upon the manner in which the provinces of Luxembourg, Liege, and Namur, might be attacked; upon the correſpondences which, with this view, he carried on in the principal cities of Flanders; and upon the powerful aſſiſtance he offered to carry thither. It was not difficult to believe, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to promote a war, of which all the advantage would accrue to himſelf. He was greatly deceived in imagining the King equally intereſted in a project, that with regard to him was a mere chimera. Indeed the Duke, fearing that at court it would be treated with ridicule, omitted nothing which he thought might bring me to approve of it, by painting it in the fineſt colours, and with all the air of diſintereſtedneſs capable of impoſing upon me. After having thus diſcourſed upon Flanders, he plunged into politics, and diſplayed all his eloquence in proving to me, that it being the King's chief intereſt to humble the houſe of Auſtria, he could never attain this end but by keeping up a ſtrict union with the Proteſtants. The King's late abjuration, he ſuppoſed, was but a neceſſary ceremonial, which had only changed his external appearance; and which he thought he proved ſufficiently, by two or three ſtrokes of raillery upon ſome ſuperſtitious practices

ces of the catholic devotees, upon the mendicant monks, and upon the equivocations of the Jesuits.

The Duke of Bouillon ſtopped here, like a man who was afraid of explaining himſelf too freely, and looked upon me attentively with a feigned inquietude. Hitherto I had liſtened to him without interruption; and diſcovered, without his perceiving it, all the ideas which roſe in that ambitious brain. But many things ſtill remained to be known, for which it was only neceſſary, I thought, to let him ſpeak a long time; for it is not poſſible but that a man, who is at once extremely vain, and a great talker, ſhould, at length, betray all his ſecrets: I therefore forced a ſmile into my countenance, and aſſumed the air of one filled with admiration of his wit, his policy, and his eloquence. The Duke, agreeably flattered, did not need much intreaty, but reſuming his diſcourſe, he went on to make me ſenſible of the true intereſt of the Proteſtants, in the preſent ſituation of affairs in France. Here it became neceſſary for me to divine more than he ſaid; either becauſe the Duke of Bouillon's expreſſion ſuffered a little from the conſtraint he laid himſelf under, for fear of indiſcretion *, or becauſe he thought the affectation of a myſterious air did

* The true character of the Duke de Bouillon, is thus given us; "On ſet purpoſe he uſed to expreſs himſelf," ſays the writer of his life, "in ſo dark and perplexed a manner, that he could give to "what he ſpoke any ſenſe that he pleaſed. He pretended that there "were ſome nice conjunctures, in which a man muſt either be ſi-"lent, or follow his manner of ſpeaking." Another maxim of the Duke de Bouillon's, according to the ſame writer, was, "That a "man ought to be very cautious of giving any thing under his hand. "A man interprets what he has ſpoken as he pleaſes; and he agrees "only to ſo much of it as he thinks proper, retrenching more or leſs. "He approves or diſapproves as he thinks convenient. But the caſe "is not the ſame with regard to what is written," &c. M. de Sully was of a quite contrary opinion. We may find ſome politicians, who will not condemn the Duke de Bouillon; but none who does not commend the Duke de Sully.

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more honour to himself and the party, or, in fine, because his discourse was built on a system so sublime, and ideas so abstracted, that he likewise was lost in it as well as I.

I recalled the Duke from this too elevated flight; and he told me more plainly, that the Protestants were so much disgusted at the King's conversion, that he could allay their apprehensions no otherwise, than by declaring war against Spain conjointly with them; that, unless this was done, it would be impossible to persuade them, that they were not made a sacrifice of, and for the future would be always exposed to the violences of the French Catholics, acting in concert with the Pope and the Spaniards. The Duke urged, as proof of this, a piece of intelligence, which he thought perhaps as false as it really was. Villeroi, said he, had upon the part of the Dukes of Lorrain, Maïenne, and Mercœur, proposed to the King, at Fountainbleau, this union between France and Spain; and the Pope would not have refused the King his apostolic benediction, with a bull, acknowledging him King of France, but because he would have this union to be the preliminary. To this proof Bouillon added others equally groundless, by which he thought to make it appear, that the Catholics had wholly estranged the King from the Protestants, and had prevailed upon them to use them with great injustice. The grievances of the Protestants thus established, the Duke was willing to inform me of the remedy they had thought proper to apply. They were preparing, he said, forthwith to fortify all their places of strength, to chuse a leader without the kingdom, and to establish within it a general council for the affairs of religion, (at a place which he did not name), to which all the different churches were to address themselves, and which was to determine, in the last resort, all the affairs

of

of the ten other provincial councils, into which the whole Calviniſt part of France was to be divided; and that the power of this ſovereign council might be abſolute and inconteſtable, a protector or foreign prince was to be put at its head, capable of making it reſpected.

Whilſt he was talking of theſe ſubjects, the Duke of Bouillon, according to the occaſion he had to dazzle, to convince, or to deceive me, aſſumed ſucceſſively the character of a friend and ally of the King, of a good Proteſtant, or of a mere relater of facts, but always that of a man conſummate in politics, and the depoſitary of all the moſt ſecret affairs of the Proteſtants. He could not, however, involve himſelf ſo well in myſtery, but that I comprehended clearly enough, that all theſe projects of high and low councils, theſe regulations ſo particulariſed, might very probably have their ſole exiſtence in the Duke's own brain, and not in the ſynods of St. Maixant, and St. Foi, as he would have had me to believe. This foreign prince or protector, eſpecially, ſeemed to me to be purely his own invention, and in reality no other than himſelf, who gave his own views for ſo many determined points, and all his end in this (for what ſprings will not ambition put in motion?) was perhaps nothing elſe than that I, by imparting theſe deſigns to the court, as if the Calviniſts had really formed them, and were ready to put them in execution, ſhould raiſe the King's indignation againſt them: and by this artifice he might oblige the Huguenots to take ſuch a reſolution as he wiſhed them to take, but durſt not openly inſpire them with; which was, to chuſe him for a leader, whom the hatred and complaints of the Catholics pointed out to them for a defender. All that happened in the ſequel has but the more confirmed me in this thought.

After having thus, as he imagined, made me

ſubſervient to his deſigns, the Duke reflected, that he ſhould loſe more than he gained, if the King, of whoſe aſſiſtance he ſtood in need, ſhould entertain any ſuſpicion to his diſadvantage; he therefore reſerved a moſt refined ſtroke of policy for the laſt. This was to aſſure me, that theſe propoſals had indeed been made him, but that, far from approving them, or offering to ſecond them, he had uſed all his endeavours to reclaim the party from their prejudices; in which he had the misfortune not to be ſucceſsful. I know not if it be poſſible to imagine any thing ſo double and ſo crafty. Certainly if the Duke of Bouillon could flatter himſelf, that theſe arts would leave me in abſolute ignorance of the affairs of the Proteſtants, and the diſpoſitions of the ſeditious, he could not at leaſt prevent me from diſcerning ſomething of his own particular ſentiments with regard to the prince whom he was betraying.

I anſwered a diſcourſe ſo full of artifice, by telling nothing but the plain truth, which is the moſt effectual way to diſconcert politicians ſo curiouſly diſguiſed. I aſſured him, in few words, that the King was always the ſame with regard to the Proteſtants: that he was ready to grant them all the advantages they could reaſonably demand; but that the preſent conjuncture obliged him to defer ſome time longer thoſe teſtimonies of his friendſhip: that his Majeſty had not forgot any of thoſe cauſes which Spain had given him to hate her; and that he would always preſerve a lively reſentment of them, even if he were not to enter into the common concern of Europe, to put a ſtop to the deſign of the houſe of Auſtria for univerſal monarchy; but that, in order to ſecure ſucceſs, it was previouſly neceſſary that all ſhould be quiet within his kingdom, ſince it might be expected that Spain would defend herſelf in a very different manner, when ſhe ſaw herſelf directly attacked,

tacked, than she had done in a war, wherein she had engaged only as an auxiliary.

I told the Duke de Bouillon, that I readily believed all he had said to me with regard to himself, since he must be sensible that the principles of honour, justice, and gratitude, pointed out to him too plainly the conduct he ought to observe with the King, to leave him any possibility of mistaking it. He refused me the troops I demanded for Henry, nor would he permit me even to peruse Madam de Bouillon's last will, saying that she had sealed it in a casket, and exacted a promise from him, that he would not open it but with the usual forms of law, if any one should contest its validity, and that she had afterwards obliged him to confirm his promise with an oath. From all this, it was not difficult for me to comprehend that my remonstrances were useless; therefore my commission being now executed, I resolved to return immediately to Laon.

I was greatly surprised, on my arrival at the camp, to meet the King, who was going to hunt, passing so near the walls of the city that he was within musket-shot of it. But I was soon informed, that both sides had laid down their arms, the city having capitulated upon condition to surrender in ten days, if within that time they were not assisted by an army, or at least if a reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men were not thrown into the place. Henry made me keep close beside him during the chase, that he might hear all the particulars of my journey. When I told him that the Duke of Bouillon refused to shew me the will of the deceased Duchess, he replied, that after this he saw well what he ought to think of the donation *. He formed the same judgment of

* In order to destroy the suspicions which the whole of this account might raise as to the reality of that donation of the Duchess

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of the Duke of Bouillon as I did, "who offers," said he, "to be a mediator in disturbances of "which he himself has been the sole author." Nor was he less displeased at his refusing to send the troops he demanded: but the present conjuncture required that his Majesty should dissemble all these occasions of discontent; and therefore, in public, he appeared to be very well satisfied with the Duke's conduct, and determined to maintain him in Sedan. With respect to the war with Spain, which I was commissioned to propose to him, he left it to be deliberated upon in full council at some other time.

The Count of Sommerive, Du-Bourg and Jeannin, finding it impossible for them to prevent the insurrection of the citizens, and of the garrison of

of Bouillon, I will give you what the Duke de Bouillon's biographer says on this head. "By her last will," says he, "she appointed the "Duke de Bouillon, her husband, her universal heir. It was cur-"rently reported, that, notwithstanding this last will of the Duchess, "the succession would be contested with her husband: the truth is, "Charles de la Mark, the Count de Maulevrier, uncle to Charlotte "de la Mark, alledged that this succession belonged to him, and that "she could not dispose of it, in favour of her husband, to his preju-"dice. The Duke de Montpensier pretended likewise, that the so-"vereignties of Bouillon, Sedan, Jamets, and Raucourt, could not "be contested with him; as he had been substituted therein by Ro-"bert de la Mark, the last Duke of Bouillon. The Duke de Bouil-"lon thought it more eligible to accommodate matters with these two "claimants, than to engage in a law-suit, which would divert him "from the execution of his grand designs: the accommodation was "concluded; and the sovereign jurisdiction of Bouillon, Sedan, and "Raucourt, remained in property to him." Hist. de Henry duc de Bouillon, par Marsollier, tom. 2. liv. 4. This historian likewise speaks of the Duke de Sully's journey to Sedan, and of the protection which Henry IV. offered the Duke de Bouillon on this occasion. But here we cannot but observe, that it would have been much better not to quote, on this subject, Sully's Memoirs, than to disguise their sense, and conceal, as he has done, the objection that arises from the text of these Memoirs: and this so much the rather, (it would be to no purpose to dissemble it, after all that has been said of it, and very lately, by Amelot de la Houssaye, in his Memoirs. in the article Bouillon la Mark) so much the rather, I say, as Henry IV. and the Duke de Sully, are not the only persons who seem to doubt of the reality of such donation.

Laon, who were incenſed againſt them as tyrants, who had rendered their authority inſupportable, thought proper to yield before the time preſcribed for delivering the city to the King. They had no longer any hopes of aſſiſtance, after the misfortune which happened to a reinforcement which the Duke of Maïenne had attempted to throw into the place. This reinforcement coming too late, near Laon, to have any hopes of ſurpriſing the beſiegers, thought it beſt to wait for night in the wood, where they kept themſelves concealed all that day. The King hunting in that part of the foreſt at the ſame time, his dogs diſcovered the ambuſcade. The enemies, although eight or nine hundred in number, inſtead of ſhewing themſelves or attacking the King, who had only three hundred horſe with him, thought they ſhould be able to avoid an abſolute diſcovery by ſeparating, the better to conceal themſelves: but the dogs purſued them inceſſantly, and the King's troop arriving in the mean time, they were ſurpriſed in ſo great a diſorder, that our footmen and ſervants only, without any aſſiſtance from the three hundred horſemen, maſtered and pillaged them.

After the ſurrender of Laon, the King judged it proper to take a journey to the frontiers of Flanders; his chief inducement to it being the hopes that many of theſe cities would ſurrender to him at his approach. The event did not anſwer his intelligence and expectations; and his Majeſty drew no other advantage from his journey, than confirming in their allegiance Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Peronne, and ſeveral other cities, into each of which he made a ſolemn entry. I can ſay no more of the tranſactions here, the King's ſervice calling me at that time to Paris upon affairs of leſs importance than the former, and which for that reaſon I ſhall not enter into a detail of, any more than of what paſſed in the different provinces

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of the kingdom. The reduction of Morlais, and Quimper, by Marechal * d'Aumont, with the assistance of the English forces; the building of fort du Croisic, by the Duke of Mercœur, at the head of his Spaniards, to be a check upon Brest, were the most considerable exploits of the two parties in Brittany. Savoy, Piedmont, Provence, and Dauphiné, continued to be the theatre of a † war always favourable to Lesdiguieres, against the Duke of Savoy, notwithstanding the defeat and taking of Crequy.

The Duke of Maïenne, seeing Laon taken, almost all Picardy in the King's party, the chief officers of the league, and the Duke of Guise himself, disposed to treat soon of an accommodation with his Majesty, complied at last with the sentiments of the President Jeannin ‡, who had long pressed him to fix himself in one single province, and there make powerful efforts in time, to render himself independent; so that, after fortune had subjected all to the King, which he doubted not would soon happen, he might at least have some remains of his estate for a retreat.

Burgundy was the province fixed upon by the Duke of Maïenne; and he marched thither with his forces, after placing good garrisons in Dourlens, La Fere, and Soissons. Besides his being al-

* He was killed the following year when besieging Comper, by a cannon-ball that broke his arm to shatters; being upwards of seventy years of age: he said no more when he found himself wounded, than these words, "I have got it". He was generally esteemed, and generally regretted. See his eulogy and great qualities in M. de Thou, b. 113.

† See these military expeditions in the historians.

‡ I know not if the author does not here a little too lightly tax this president: at least it has been said, that more than two years before, at his return from Spain, he had been the first to advise the Duke de Maïenne to come to an agreement with the King; as being disgusted at the haughtiness and excessive vanity with which the King of Spain, in treating with him, had said, "My town of Paris, "my town of Orleans", as if France had actually been his own.

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ready in poſſeſſion of great part of this province, its contiguity to Savoy, Franche Comté, Lorrain, Switzerland, and Germany, from whence he hoped to draw great ſupplies, was a new motive to ſettle there. The Pope, and the Emperor, ſeemed to enter into his views: he might ſtrengthen his right of conqueſt, by a reſignation in form, which Spain would grant him ſo much the more willingly, as by that means ſhe would revive a claim upon Burgundy, long ſince ſuppreſſed, but never wholly renounced. All theſe likely appearances made it believed by many perſons, that the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was upon the point of being reſtored. The Duke of Maïenne's conduct in theſe quarters, the remaining part of this year, and till the month of April in the following, ſupported this opinion; and I had leſs reaſon than any other to doubt of his intention in this reſpect, after the letters I ſaw at Paris, in the hands of the Cardinal de Bourbon.

But, unfortunately for the Duke of Maïenne, the Burgundians were not in the humour of chuſing a ſubject for their maſter: they never before gave ſuch convincing proofs of their fidelity to their ſovereign. The Duke of Guiſe beginning with endeavours to ſecure Beaune, by throwing a ſtrong garriſon into it, the burghers roſe againſt them, defeated them, and forced them to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle: and, as they might ſtill ſuffer great inconveniencies from them, they fortified themſelves with barricadoes againſt the caſtle, and invited Marechal Biron to come to their aſſiſtance, permitting him to lodge his little army ſix weeks within their walls. They afterwards attacked the caſtle in form, with a battery of twelve pieces of cannon; and carried on their works ſo vigorouſly, that they drove out at laſt the garriſon of the league. I ſhall ſpeedily reſume the expeditions in Burgundy;

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at preſent I muſt leave them, to return to the affairs of the capital.

I perceived the Cardinal's illneſs to increaſe ſo much every day, that, not doubting but his end was very near, I ſtaid at Paris to give the King immediate notice of it. He died without making that diſpoſition of his benefices which he ſeemed to have had ſo much at heart. His Majeſty was afflicted at his death, having loſt a good kinſman and an affectionate ſubject. He wrote to me, that he was oppreſſed with the importunity of ſome perſons who coveted the Cardinal's ſpoils; and that, to get rid of them, his general anſwer was, that they were already diſpoſed of. His deſigns with regard to theſe benefices were as follows: In the agreement with the Abbot de Tiron, certain abbeys belonging to the Chancellor and the Governor of Pont-de-l'Arche were yielded to him, for which thoſe two gentlemen demanded to be doubly indemnified out of the benefices of the deceaſed Cardinal. The King was deſirous that the Abbé de Tiron ſhould releaſe theſe abbeys to the proprietors, and receive in exchange for them the archbiſhopric of Rouen, valued at thirty-thouſand livres a-year, but charged by the King with the payment of a penſion of four thouſand crowns, which he had promiſed to the Chevalier D'Oiſe, retaining for himſelf Gaillonhouſe, which he deſigned to purchaſe from the Abbé; and he ordered me to diſpoſe him to accept of this equivalent. As for the abbey of St. Ouen, one of the fineſt benefices the deceaſed Cardinal had poſſeſſed, the King, as yet, had not beſtowed it on any one; and he had the goodneſs to tell me, that he would not do it without charging it with a penſion of ten thouſand livres for me.

The greateſt difficulty I met with in managing the King's affairs at Paris, was to communicate his prudent œconomy to the directors of his finances, the ſuperintendant eſpecially. The abuſe of ſuffering

ing the finances to become a prey to favourites, (an evil, the ſource of which may be traced back to the reign of Charles VIII.) had in this laſt reign increaſed to ſuch a degree, that had a man of the greateſt induſtry, prudence, and integrity imaginable, been at the head of the finances, he perhaps would not have been able to remedy the bad conſequences of ſo prodigious a diſſipation: and, unhappily, D'O * poſſeſſed none of theſe qualities. His temperament naturally formed for profuſion, indolence, and voluptuouſneſs, had been wholly ruined by all thoſe vices for which the court of Henry III. was famous, gaming high, exceſſive debauchery, expenſive follies, domeſtic diſorders, and extravagancies of every kind. D'O was on a footing with Bellegarde, Souvrai, Villequier, Quélus, Saint Luc, Maugiron, Saint-Mégrin, Livarrot, Joyeuſe, Epernon, La-Valette, Du-Bouchage, Thermes, and many other leſs declared favourites: and the title of minion was all the recommendation he had for a poſt which the moſt inconſiderate princes think fit, for their own intereſt, to except from thoſe with which they reward ſuch ſort of ſervants.

Such was the man by whom the finances were conducted, at a time when, minions and miſtreſſes being excluded from the council, one would have expected they ſhould have taken a quite different form: and what is moſt ſurpriſing, the King, in his moſt urgent occaſions, had not even the privilege of dividing his own revenues with the ſuperintendant. D'O did not ſcruple to let him loſe a city or a governor for the want of a very inconſiderable

* Francis D'O, Lord of Freſnes Maillebois, &c. firſt gentleman of the bed chamber, governor of Paris and the iſle of France, ſuperintendant of the finances, &c. "He ſurpaſſed Kings and princes in "extravagance and prodigality; for, even to his ſuppers, he had "pies made of muſk and amber ſerved up, that amounted to twenty-"five thouſand crowns." Journal de L'Etoile, Ann. 1594, p. 37.

ſum of money, while, at the ſame time, he denied none to his pleaſures. Lieramont, governor of Catelet, applied to me, to ſolicit the payment of his garriſon from D'O: I thought the affair of ſuch importance, that I got over my reluctance, and acquitted myſelf of my commiſſion; but with little ſucceſs. The ſuperintendant, after I had left him, ſaid to Meſſiurs d'Edouville and de Mouſſy, that he had rather ſee this place in the hands of Spaniards than Proteſtants. Lieramont was of that religion. Mouſſy, who was my kinſman, repeating this diſcourſe to me, I declared to the ſuperintendant, that I would make him anſwerable for the place, if it were loſt for want of this payment. But this menace had little effect on him.

Fortunately for the King, a retention of urine delivered him, a few days after, from ſo bad a ſubject. And it is worthy of obſervation, that this man, who was poſſeſſed of more than four millions, or rather of all the money in the kingdom, which he diſpoſed of almoſt abſolutely; more ſplendid in his equipages, his furniture, and his table, than the King himſelf, was not yet abandoned by his phyſicians, when his relations, who had always ſeemed to bear him great affection, his domeſtics *, and ſome others, under the title of creditors, pillaged him with ſuch eagerneſs, and ſo completely, that, a long time before he expired, there was nothing left but bare walls in the chamber where he lay; as if fortune thought fit to finiſh with him at leaſt by an act of juſtice †.

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* He had no children by Charlotte Catharine de Villequier, his wife. "Henry IV. playing at tennis with M. D'O, made him obſerve that the marker ſtole their balls, and afterwards called to him with a loud voice, D'O, you ſee that all the world cheats us." Le-Grain, b. 7.

† "If," ſays M. de Grillon, "each muſt give in his accounts above, I believe that poor D'O will find himſelf much at a loſs to find good documents for his. It was ſaid that he died very much

The King returned to Paris to treat of a truce, which the Duke of Lorrain requeſted inſtantly; and of an accommodation with the Duke of Guiſe, who ſolicited it by the Ducheſs of Guiſe, his mother, the King's couſin german, and Madamoiſelle de Guiſe, his ſiſter. It muſt be confeſſed, that of all thoſe perſons who had been in arms againſt the King, the Duke of Guiſe deſerved the moſt indulgence. To the common motives of religion and independence, which ſeemed to authoriſe all things, he joined that of a father aſſaſſinated by the order of the preſent king's predeceſſor. It was Madam de Guiſe, his mother, whoſe perſuaſions chiefly induced him to take this ſtep: ſhe was continually repreſenting to her ſon, that the revolt of the princes and nobility of the kingdom, which in the beginning was juſtified by religion, became criminal after Henry had removed the only obſtacle that could hinder him from enjoying his right of inheritance to the crown.

In any other age, which had not, like this, loſt every diſtinction between virtue and vice, this woman would have been the ornament of her ſex, for the qualities of her heart and mind. Her whole conduct was regulated by a native rectitude

" in debt, more than he was worth; and that there were five and " twenty or thirty officers in his houſe when he died. The treaſu- " rers regretted him extremely, and called him their father: it was " even ſaid, that three of them gave each fifty crowns to Collot, to " encourage him to dreſs him properly. M. le Grand, his good " friend, was almoſt diſtracted for his loſs; for he allowed him eve- " ry year one hundred thouſand franks to ſpend. Madame was not " at all ſorry for it, becauſe he almoſt ſtarved her: thoſe of the reli- " gion regretted him as little, for he wiſhed them no good. Madam " de Liancourt mourned for him, becauſe ſhe could do with him as " ſhe pleaſed; and if he kept her in favour with the King——— " M Seguier, the Dean, who aſſiſted him to the laſt, as likewiſe " did his brothers, repeated to him, as he was dying, Have mercy " on me, O God. Some of the laſt words he ſpoke were, Remem- " ber me to his Majeſty; he will know better, after my death, where- " in I have been of ſervice to him, than he did while I lived." L'Etoile, ibid.

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of ſoul; ſo that it was eaſy to ſee that ſhe had not even the idea of evil, either to act, or to adviſe it; and at the ſame time of ſo ſweet a diſpoſition, that ſhe never was ſubjected to the ſmalleſt emotion of hatred, malignity, envy, or even ill humour. No woman ever poſſeſſed ſo many graces of converſation, or added to a wit ſo ſubtil and refined, a ſimplicity ſo artleſs and agreeable. Her repartees were full of ſalt and ſprightlineſs; and the pleaſing, as well as greater qualities, ſo happily blended in her compoſition, that ſhe was, at once, tender and lively, tranquil and gay. It was not long before the King became perfectly well acquainted with the character of this lady; and from that moment he not only forgot all his reſentment, but alſo behaved towards her with all the familiarity and frankneſs of a ſincere friend. He conſented to give the neceſſary paſſports to the Sieurs de la Rochette, Perigord, and Bigot, whom the Duke of Guiſe ſent to propoſe his demands; and, wholly ſubdued by the inſtances of theſe two ladies, named, on his ſide, three agents to treat with the Duke: theſe were the Chancellor de Chavigny, the Duke de Retz, and Beaulieu Ruſé, ſecretary of ſtate.

Theſe three perſons, to ſhew their great ſkill in negotiating, began at firſt by uſing all thoſe turns and artifices which policy has wrongfully introduced in place of that frank and open conduct, that without deceiving any one, produces the ſame effect. Their conferences laſted ten days ſucceſſively; yet, at the end of this time, the ſmalleſt preliminary was not ſettled. Madam de Guiſe, who was tortured by theſe affected delays, came one day into the King's apartment, when his Majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me, holding my hand; and turning the diſcourſe upon the treaty with her ſon, ſhe complained to the King, with her uſual gaiety, but mingled with a little impatience, that he had employed three men, "who go," ſaid ſhe, "three

"different roads to reach no end; the firſt, by "never ſaying more than theſe words, *We muſt "conſider; we muſt adviſe; let us do better;* the "ſecond, by not underſtanding himſelf, although "he ſpeaks almoſt continually: and the third, by "never ceaſing to find fault." This was, in reality, the true character of the three negotiators. This lady, ſuffering herſelf to be wholly tranſported by her zeal for the King, and tenderneſs for her ſon, taking his Majeſty's hand, which ſhe kiſſed, notwithſtanding Henry's endeavours to the contrary, ſhe conjured him to receive the returning allegiance of the Duke of Guiſe, and give her the conſolation to ſee her family reſtored to the favour of their King. She ſpoke with an effuſion of heart ſo ſtrong and lively, that the King, affected by it even to tears, could not hinder himſelf from anſwering, "Well, couſin, what is it you deſire "me to do? I can refuſe you nothing." "All "I deſire," replied ſhe, "is, that you will name "the perſon whoſe hand your Majeſty holds, to "treat with my ſon." "What! returned the King, "this wicked Huguenot. Truly I grant "him you very willingly, although I know that he "is your kinſman, and that he has a very great "friendſhip for you." That very moment he removed the cogniſance of this affair from the three commiſſaries, and cauſed a commiſſion, under the great ſeal to be given to me; not only for ſettling the treaty with the Duke of Guiſe, but alſo for the affairs of the whole province of Champaigne. It may be eaſily imagined, that after this the Chancellor bore me no good will; but it is the part of an old and artful courtier, to appear ſo much the more obliging and reſpectful to thoſe who are in favour, as the reſentment he harbours againſt them in his heart is violent and laſting. Chiverny, indeed, excelled in this art.

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The Duke of Guiſe had begun with very extravagant propoſals, which if he had inſiſted upon, would have rendered this treaty ineffectual. Doubtleſs he was induced to make them through his knowledge of thoſe perſons to whom he was referred: he thought that, to obtain ſomething, he muſt demand a great deal. He claimed no leſs than the poſt of high ſteward of the King's houſhold, which the Count of Soiſſons had been in poſſeſſion of, ever ſince the aſſaſſination of the Duke of Guiſe, to poſſeſs the government of Champaigne, which had likewiſe been given to the Duke of Nevers; to enjoy alſo the benefices of his uncle, the Cardinal of Guiſe, particularly the archbiſhopric of Rheims, then actually poſſeſſed by M. Du-Bec, a relation of Madam de Liancourt, the King's miſtreſs. He added ſeveral other articles; but theſe three gave riſe to the greateſt difficulties. The Duke of Guiſe, being informed of the change of the commiſſioners, reſolved immediately to leſſen the extravagance of his demands: and wrote to the Ducheſs, his mother, and to his agents, to conclude a treaty with me upon reaſonable conditions, and even at any rate. He had lately a new inducement to conclude the treaty as ſoon as poſſible, of which I was abſolutely ignorant. He had diſcovered that the city of Rheims (the moſt conſiderable preſent he had to offer the King) deſigning to make a merit of returning to its obedience voluntarily, had ſolicited the reſt of the province to do the like; and had already drawn a great party into their views. The Duke of Guiſe, to prevent this inconvenience, having attempted to place a garriſon there, the inhabitants declared, that they would guard the city themſelves; and this refuſal occaſioning a debate, they anſwered the Duke's menaces by other threats no leſs haughty.

After the ſecond conference I had with the Duke's agent, there was no mention either of the poſt

poſt of high ſteward of the houſhold, the government of Champaigne, or of the benefices; and thoſe three obſtacles being removed, I ſaw very little difficulty remaining. I propoſed to the King, the drawing the Duke of Guiſe from Champaigne, to fix him in Provence, by giving him that government for a recompenſe; ſo that his intereſt there being united with that of Leſdiguieres and Ornano, who ſupported the King's party againſt the Duke of Epernon, they might at once join to reduce the power of that formidable ſubject. The King conſented to this ſo much the more willingly, as by the manner in which the family of Guiſe acted with him, he judged he might depend upon their fidelity; and he ordered me to conclude with him upon this plan. I made the propoſal to the Duke's agent, and, upon reiterated commands from his Majeſty, uſed ſo much diligence in ſettling all other matters, that the next evening the treaty with the Duke of Guiſe was concluded, and ſigned by me for the King, and by Madam de Guiſe, and the Duke's three commiſſioners, for him.

The next day ſix deputies from the city of Rheims arrived at Paris; and, addreſſing themſelves to me, told me, that the King needed not beſtow any great rewards upon the Duke of Guiſe, not only becauſe Rheims was no longer in his power, but becauſe the inhabitants were ready to deliver him up to the King. They did not require to be introduced to his Majeſty, but ſaid, that they would be ſatisfied with his approbation in writing, or only mine; ſubmitting it to the King to grant them what recompenſe he ſhould think proper: and ended with offering me, according to cuſtom, a preſent of ten thouſand crowns, which I neither could, nor would accept of. I thanked them, in the King's name, for their good-will; and aſſured them that he would, with pleaſure, receive this teſtimony of it.

I deferred giving them an anſwer, till I had received orders from his Majeſty, to whom I went immediately to relate all that had paſſed. The King was at that time in his cloſet, from whence he made every one but Beringhen depart, and liſtened to me walking, often ſhaking his head, and ſmiling, through a reflection on the natural levity and inconſtancy of the people, he afterwards took me aſide to the window, and deſired me to tell him what terms I was upon with the Duke of Guiſe. As ſoon as I had informed him that the treaty was concluded, he did not heſitate a moment whether or not he ſhould obſerve it; but he would not, however, appear inſenſible of the affection of the city of Rheims. I introduced the deputies to him, whom he thanked as became a King, beſtowing upon them a very conſiderable reward, with an air ſo gracious, that they returned full of joy and admiration.

The treaty with the Duke of Guiſe being with the uſual form ſigned by Gêvres for the King, the Ducheſs and Mademoiſelle de Guiſe demanded his Majeſty's permiſſion for the Duke to come himſelf, and aſſure him of his obedience. I wrote to him to ſeek for no other ſecurity than that permiſſion: and he did not heſitate to comply with my advice. He aſſembled as many of his friends as he could, and came and threw himſelf at the King's feet, with ſo many marks of a ſincere repentance, that the King, who penetrated into his inmoſt ſoul, inſtead of reproaches, or a ſilence which on ſuch occaſions is more terrible than even reproaches, made uſe of all his endeavours to reaſſure him: he embraced him three ſeveral times, honoured him with the name of nephew, treated him with the greateſt tenderneſs and freedom, and, without affecting either to avoid or recall what had paſſed, mentioned the deceaſed Duke of Guiſe with honour. He ſaid, that they had been friends

friends in their youth, although often rivals for the ſame ladies; and that the Duke's good qualities, and a conformity of diſpoſition, had united them in a fixed averſion to the Duke of Alençon. A friend, who endeavours to reconcile himſelf to his friend after a ſlight quarrel, could not have ſhowed a greater diſpoſition to renew the friendſhip; and all thoſe that were witneſſes of this reception, could never ſufficiently admire a king, who, with ſo many qualities to inſpire fear, employed only ſuch as created love.

The Duke of Guiſe, abſolutely gained by this diſcourſe, replied to the King, that he would neglect nothing to render himſelf worthy of the honour his Majeſty did the memory of his father, and the ſentiments he was pleaſed to entertain of himſelf: and from that time he took ſuch care to convince him that his reſpect and attachment would continue inviolable, that the King, forgetting all which any other, in his ſituation, would have apprehended from the raiſing again a family which had made kings tremble, lived with him familarly, and admitted him, with the other courtiers, into all his parties of pleaſure: for ſuch was the character of Henry, that that exterior gravity, which the royal dignity makes it neceſſary to aſſume, never hindered him from reſigning himſelf up freely to pleaſures, which an equality of conditions ſpreads over ſociety. The truly great man knows how to be by turns, and as occaſions require, whatever he ought to be, maſter, or equal, king, or citizen: it is no diminution of his greatneſs, to unbend himſelf in private, provided that he ſhews himſelf in his public character, equally fit to manage the affairs of the camp and of the cabinet, the courtier will always remember that he is with his maſter.

Madam de Guiſe entering the King's apartment ſome days after, when the Duke of Guiſe preſent-

ed the napkin to his Majesty for a slight repast which he made in the afternoon, she again took occasion to express her gratitude to him for his goodness to her son, and told him, with a lively emotion, that if ever the Duke of Guise was deficient in his duty and obedience, she would disinherit him, and disown him for her son. The King, running to embrace her, assured her that he on his side, would ever preserve for the Duke, and his whole family, the tenderness of a father.

The treaty I had just concluded with the Duke of Guise produced much loud clamour. His own particular enmies, and that sort of people which swarm about a court, who have no other business than to decry the conduct of persons in place, united themselves against me, and being secretly instigated by those from whom the cognisance of this affair was taken, proclaimed every where, that I undertook this commission only to please Madam de Guise. The Duke of Epernon was not silent on this occasion; and whenever the Duke of Guise and he were mentioned together, he constantly said, that I had offended the one without cause, to oblige the other against all reason. These discourses were so often repeated to the King, that he was at last made to believe, I had acted with rather too much precipitation: however, he was not displeased with me upon that account.

It was not difficult for me to justify myself; which I did by an apology in writing, and presented it to the King. I there defended my conduct with the following reasons: That the King could not possibly grant the three articles before mentioned to the Duke of Guise, without giving disgust to a great many other persons; notwithstanding which, he would have been obliged to grant them, if he had not had a government to give him, which was the least recompense

the Duke could expect, after resigning Champaigne, and yielding up so many other claims: that with regard to the government which was given him as an equivalent, no other could be chosen, from whence fewer bad consequences might be feared, than from Provence. For upon a supposition that the Duke of Guise might hereafter become capable of forgetting the new oath of allegiance he had taken, there was little danger to be apprehended from him in a province which had no communication with Lorrain, the Low Countries, and Burgundy especially: on the contrary, although none of the Duke's demands had been complied with, except the continuing him in the government of Champaigne, yet by that, there was a danger of perpetuating the war in those countries: That it was the King's interest to reserve to himself the power of bestowing the government of Champaigne upon a man who should be not only sincerely attached to his service, but whose integrity likewise should be so well known, that the rebels in Burgundy might despair of ever bringing him to favour their views. With regard to the conveniency of fixing upon Provence for the Duke of Guise, I added that argument relating to the Duke of Epernon, which I have already slightly mentioned. I recalled to the King's remembrance, in a few words, the many occasions of complaint this man had given him, his repeated revolts, his intrigues to disengage all the catholics from his Majesty's party, his insolent boast that he would never acknowledge any superior in his government, his last proceedings at Villemuir, and many other circumstances which certainly would do no honour to the history of this supercilious subject. It was opposing one leader of the league by another, whom a thousand motives, besides that of his personal interest, which ought always to be regarded as the most powerful, concurred to regulate

gulate his conduct by a syſtem quite contrary to his former views.

Without dwelling upon the orders his Majeſty had given me with regard to the Duke of Guiſe, or the danger of a longer delay; although the treaty with him had not been ſo advantageous as it was eaſy to prove it was, I repreſented to the King, that he could not act rigorouſly towards a man, who had ſo ſteadily refuſed all the offers and moſt flattering promiſes from Spain, the Dukes of Savoy, and Lorrain, and all the enemies of the ſtate *, to prevail upon him to continue a war, which, however ſhort a time it had laſted, would have been a greater incovenience to him, than all he had granted to the Duke of Guiſe, Nor ought it to be thought a matter of little conſequence (whatever his and my enemies could ſay) to gain over a man whoſe name and birth might have put him at the head of a powerful party. I agree with them, if they pleaſe, that this lord made after all but a frivolous ſacrifice of unjuſt claims, and uncertain expectations; nay, I will reduce it lower, and aſcribe it all to the King's generoſity: yet, if by that means he bound to his intereſt, not a ſingle man only, but a family reſpectable for their alliances, their riches, and their influence, it cannot be called an uſeleſs generoſity.

The King was ſtruck with theſe reaſons, and ſeemed greatly ſurpriſed at my exact knowledge of Epernon, He did not think it proper to permit this writing to be publiſhed, becauſe of the truths it contained, which it was not yet time to reveal. I ſubmitted, without any difficulty, for I never gave myſelf much trouble about the efforts of envy, having always looked upon that paſſion as an

* The Duke of Guiſe was hated by the league, eſpecially ſince the time he had killed with his own hand, in a tumult, the Sieur de St. Paul, his field-lieutenant, who was much beloved by them.

incurable diſeaſe. The Duke of Guiſe's whole conduct for the future made a ſtill better apology for me: he began his government by ſo clear and abſolute a declaration of his ſentiments, that the ſeditious were deprived of all hopes of ever being able to ſeduce him. On all occaſions wherein the King's ſervice, or the good of the ſtate, required his aſſiſtance, he behaved with equal firmneſs and prudence. The reduction of Marſeilles *, which was with reaſon thought one of the beſt ſtrokes of that kind, was his work: and with the help of Leſdiguieres, and the Counteſs of Sault, he ſo well humbled the haughty Epernon, that he at laſt obliged him to reſtrain his rebellious diſpoſition; and this proud ſubject was ſeen to ſubmit to the King's mercy, and to become one of his moſt aſſiduous courtiers

I never was unwilling to do juſtice to the Duke of Epernon, to be among the firſt to enhance the value either of his perſonal ſervices, or thoſe of his ſoldiers at Limoges, Saint Germain, Villebois †, Chartres, Boulogne, Montauron, Antibes, and

* This town was upon the point of being delivered up to the King of Spain, by two of its burgeſſes, named Charles Caſault, and Lewis D'Aix; when the Duke of Guiſe found means to make himſelf maſter of it, by intelligence held with Peter and Bartholomew Libertat, two brothers, who were alſo burgeſſes of the ſame town. They ſlew Caſault, beat the troops of the Spaniſh ſide, and let in, through the Porte-reale, the Duke of Guiſe, who performed this enterpriſe with a great deal of conduct. See De Thou, book 116 D'Aubigné, tom. 3. liv 4. chap. 12. Henry IV. upon receiving the news of the reduction of Marſeilles, ſaid, "It is now that I am King." In the following campaign, the Duke of Guiſe ſhewed a great deal of valour, in purſuing the Spaniards as far as Gray; and killed with his own hand, a trooper belonging to the enemy, who had given him defiance. Henry IV. embracing him, ſpoke theſe words, "Thoſe who "find old examples of virtue before them, muſt imitate and repeat "them, for ſuch as come after." P. Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. 1. p. 192.

† See on each of theſe actions, L'hiſt. de la vie du Duc d'Epernon, printed at Paris, Ann. 1655. Villebois is a town of Angoumois, which at this day is called La-Valette. You may likewiſe conſult

and even at Villemur. I am ſorry that the ſubject I treat on neceſſarily engages me in a diſcuſſion which may extinguiſh any ſentiments that do him honour; but ſince this is a place where nothing ſhould be concealed or diſguiſed, what can, what ought to be thought of his conduct in Provence! Certainly, to aſcribe it all to a bigotry in his religion, is ſhewing the utmoſt favour to his reputation. His panegyriſts, who ſo loudly extol his moſt inconſiderable actions, ought to be a little more moderate when they reflect on his frequent revolts, and acts of diſobedience; or begin by eſtabliſhing it for a truth, that a ſubject may be irreproachable, yet fail in his duty to his King and his country, introduce diſcord and confuſion to gratify his ambition, and give to violence the name of right. If any panegyrics are to be beſtowed here, doubtleſs it is the King who merits them, who, after all theſe offences, received Epernon with open arms, and never excluded him from favours; which in every reſpect, were indeed mere favours to him.

After the death of D'O, there appeared among the candidates a man, who, it was immediately thought, would have the poſt of ſuperintendant; this was Nicolas de Sancy, who wanted neither capacity, nor experience, for that ſtation. Sancy might be very properly called a man of wit, uſing this term in the ſenſe that is generally given it, to denote vivacity, ſubtilty, and quickneſs of apprehenſion. But, as theſe qualities are by no means inſeparable from an excellent judgement, Sancy ſpoiled them by a degree of vanity, caprice, and impetuoſity, which ſometimes rendered him inſupportable. It is my opinion of theſe ſtrong and

ſult the ſame hiſtory, as to the reproaches which our Memoirs give this Duke; but he cannot be juſtified in every particular; and even his own hiſtorian looks upon it as impoſſible. All that can be ſaid is, that M. de Sully took pleaſure to aggravate faults, which the laſt years of the Duke d'Epernon's life have almoſt entirely effaced.

lively

lively imaginations in general, that although they are commonly ſubject to two great faults, which are, too much ſubtilty, and too little clearneſs in their ideas, and confuſion and unſteadineſs in their ſchemes, yet they ought not to be thought utterly incapable of buſineſs; becauſe it often happens, that they hit upon expedients which would have eſcaped more cautious and phlegmatic minds: but there is almoſt always occaſion to watch over them, and to correct their errors.

Sancy had long, and uſefully ſerved Henry III. and the reigning King, both in Germany and Switzerland. He had inſinuated himſelf into Henry's favour by great complaiſance, a ſubtle behaviour, a refined art in heightening his pleaſure, and by becoming neceſſary in his affairs of gallantry. Hence it was that he lived with his prince upon terms of the moſt intimate familiarity. That he might neglect nothing by which he thought he ſhould make his court ſucceſsfully, he inveighed without ceaſing, againſt the diſſipation of the finances; and as a flatterer generally goes beyond his mark, in railing at the ſuperintendant he could not help decrying likewiſe the ſuperintendancy, as an employment ruinous to the ſtate; by which he gave good reaſon to call his underſtanding in queſtion. But he himſelf oppoſed his advancement to this poſt by an obſtacle ſtill greater: he not only neglected to pleaſe Madam de Liancourt*, then miſtreſs to the King, but by an intemperance of tongue, to which ſuch perſons as he are very ſubject, he had offended this lady on one of the moſt delicate ſubjects.

* This was the fair Gabrielle, who was wife to Nicolas d'Amerval, Lord of Liancourt. She was forced by her father, they ſay, to this marriage, which was not at all to her liking: but Henry IV. knew very well how to hinder the conſummation.

I know

I know not whether the ſtory I am going to relate had ever any foundation in truth. However this may be, thus the ſtory ran in Paris: His Majeſty having ſent Alibour, his firſt phyſician, to viſit Madam de Liancourt, who was indiſpoſed (this was in the beginning of his addreſſes to that lady) at his return he told the King, that ſhe was indeed a little diſordered, but that he need not be uneaſy, for the conſequence would be very good. "But will you not bleed and purge her?" ſaid the King to him. "I ſhall be very careful how I "do that," replied the old man, with the ſame ſimplicity, "before ſhe has gone half her time." "How!" interrupted the King, aſtoniſhed and diſordered to the laſt degree: "what is it you ſay, "friend? Surely you rave, and are not in your right "ſenſes." Alibour ſupported his aſſertion with good proofs, which the King thought he ſhould deſtroy, by telling him upon what terms he was with the lady. "I know not what you have done, "or what you have not done," replied the old phyſician with great compoſure, and for a complete proof referred him to four or five months from that time. The King quitted Alibour in great rage, and went immediately to reproach the ſick fair one, who, no doubt, knew well enough how to give a different turn to all the good man had ignorantly ſaid; for it was not perceived that any miſunderſtanding had happened between the King and his miſtreſs. It is certain, however, that the event was exactly conformable to Alibour's prediction: but it was thought that Henry, after a more ſtrict examination, was brought to believe that he had been miſtaken in his reckoning, ſince, inſtead of diſowning the child which Madam de Liancourt lay in of at Coucy, during the ſiege of Laon, he acknowledged it openly, and had it baptiſed by the name of Cæſar.

Sancy

Sancy gave free ſcope to his wit, in relating this ſtory; and did not forget the circumſtance of La-Regnardiere *, who, having one day, as he ſaid, taken the liberty to inform his Majeſty of ſome things that did not pleaſe him, was ſoon after baniſhed the court, under pretence that he had quarrelled with the Admiral †. Sancy found ſomething to ſay upon the death of the good man Alibour, and would have thought it more natural, if it had not happened before the accompliſhment of his prediction. If he commented thus upon the birth of the ſon, he did no leſs upon the whole conduct of the mother. Sancy proved, to his coſt, what the hatred of a woman, eſpecially a King's miſtreſs, is capable of doing: Henry loved him, and wanted to raiſe him; and although he was inclined to ſuppreſs the poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances, yet he would have preſerved it, merely to have beſtowed it upon him; but Madam de Liancourt knew how to prevent it.

Inſtead of a ſuperintendant of the finances, his Majeſty compoſed a council conſiſting of eight perſons; there were, the Chancellor de Chiverny, the Duke de Retz, Meſſieurs de Bellievre (who was ſucceeded by Matignon) de Scomberg, de Maiſſe, de Freſne (protected by Madam de Liancourt) de La-Grange-le-roi, and de Sancy, who thought

* "La Regnardiere was a kind of buffoon, half ſoldier, half lawyer, and half gentleman, who ſaid whatever came uppermoſt." It is in this manner he is ſpoken of in the adventures of the Baron de Fœneſte, liv. 4. chap. 7. where we find many more ſtories related of him.

† The Journal de L'Etoile, and the confeſſion de Sancy, confirm all this pleaſantry, as alſo the ſuſpicion of its ending tragically for old M. Alibour, the King's firſt phyſician, who was poiſoned, they ſay, by order of the King's miſtreſs: but all this is alledged without any proof. You may alſo read, on this head, what Sanval has told, on the faith of public report, and ſatirical libels, touching the intrigues between the fair Gabrielle and the Duke de Bellegarde.

himself very happy to be one of the members * of this body. The King judged it necessary to give this council for form's sake only, and without any distinction, a titular head, which was the Duke of Nevers. This form of government of the finances lasted some time, although with a few inconsiderable alterations, which I shall mention in their proper place: for the reader may expect in these memoirs to see whatever relates to the finances treated with all that clearness and extent which a man, who has so long made them his study and employment, is capable of giving them.

The King was convinced in the sequel, that this new change in the council † was far from affording that remedy the disease required: small as my experience was in these affairs, I easily comprehended it. It is not the government of one man only by which the finances are thrown into confusion; since it is an inconteſtable truth, that, as they must pass through some hands, the fewer that are employed, the less will be embezzled. The abuse lies in the choice of this man, and in the nature of the finances: and therefore, to have this office discharged by many different persons, is to perpetuate the evil. If in the whole kingdom, it is difficult to find one single man fit for such an employment, how can it be expected that a great number will be met with? Nor is the mistake less palpable in imagining, that all these persons bringing each of them

* M. de Thou and Perefixe say, that M. de Sully was for some time superintendant before M. de Rosny: which ought not to be understood, in my opinion, but only of the authority which he assumed of himself among his fellow-counsellours, as M. de Sully tells us afterwards. The writers of that time agree that nothing of certainty can be said as to the state of the council of the finances, till the time in which M. de Rosny was at least declared the chief. We run no risk in believing all he says on the head of the finances.

† Perefixe talks of this new form of the council of the finances, as M. de Cosny, Ann. 1698. p. 224.

one distinguishing good quality into their employments, the same effect will be produced as from a man who unites them all in himself; since that is to suppose, that this single good quality cannot possibly be rendered useless by the opposition of several bad ones, either in himself or in his associates. In general, the predominant principle with which those persons who are invested with public employments, enter upon the execution of them, is to raise and enrich themselves and their relations. If this eager desire of riches is not felt by them at first, it is inspired, increased, and stimulated, by the great sums of money which pass through their hands: amidst that dependence on, and mutual fear of, each other, every one represents to himself integrity as a quality not only useless, but hurtful to him, the honour of which is shared by his colleagues, the inconvenience wholly his own. The King was far from being fortunate in his choice of the members of this body: several of those who composed it, besides their evil dispositions, were in a situation that exposed them to corruption: they had debts to pay, and domestic wants to supply.

His Majesty destined me a place in it, and had, for a long time, in his conversations with me, expressed his desire, that I would study to make myself thoroughly acquainted with whatever regarded the finances; but I could not possibly submit to the imperious behaviour of the Duke of Nevers, who very unseasonably assumed great consequence to himself from his quality of prince, in a place where it signified very little. One day, when his insolence had exhausted all my patience, I took the liberty to intreat he would remember, that the family of Bethune was in possession of the earldom of Nevers before the family of Gonzague. To a man puffed up with vanity, no blow could be more sensible. He often repeated to those who would hear him, that my whole family were Huguenots;

nots; and, to anſwer my anecdote with another, ſaid, that he had ſeen my grandfather make a very mean figure at Nevers. I ſuffered him to have his revenge, which could extend no further than keeping me out of a council where I had very little inclination to be with him: and this ſatisfaction he had. The King, who had many meaſures to keep, told me, in a very obliging manner, that he was under a neceſſity of deferring ſome time longer the proof he intended to give me of his friendſhip; and I waited for it without murmuring, ſatisfied with the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, with a ſalary of two thouſand livres a-year, and a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred more*, which the King conferred upon me.

Perſons of the leaſt diſcernment being convinced of the neceſſity there was to introduce a reformation into the finances, the new council were at firſt deſirous of this honour; and a ſcheme for that purpoſe was propoſed by thoſe amongſt them who moſt valued themſelves for their penetration and method. Theſe were Freſne and La Grange-le-roi. But after they had produced a very large volume upon this affair, it happened with that, as with moſt plans that have been or can be invented; nothing more eaſy in ſpeculation, in practice nothing more difficult: and the King, whom they had flattered with mighty hopes, found every thing in the ſame condition as before, at the end of the year which he had paſſed at Paris, expecting daily the effect of their promiſes.

He was retained there to more purpoſe by the treaty with Lorrain, which, entirely forſaking Spain, concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with France. Sancy's ſervices were of great uſe in this treaty; and to him almoſt all the honour of it was due. The King was no longer at a loſs for

* Both ſums together make about 233 l. Sterling.

employment, after the Duke of Bouillon arrived at Paris he came in Perſon to preſs the execution of thoſe ſchemes he had entertained me with at Sedan, particularly a declaration of war againſt Spain, which he made the baſis of his advancement in the Low Countries. He uſed ſuch plauſible arguments for it, that after almoſt perſuading the King, and gaining the generality of the courtiers to his opinion *, he did not ſcruple to propoſe it in full council. He found there two different parties who did not approve of this war: thoſe in whom a rooted attachment to Spain and the league ſtill remained, and they were not few in number; and thoſe who thought a war, in the preſent weak and exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, was very unſeaſonable. Theſe laſt had very few partiſans, but very ſtrong reaſons on their ſide, if theſe could only have procured them audience.

I would not incur the reproach of ſilence upon this occaſion. I uſed every argument my reaſon could ſuggeſt, to diſſuade the King from this war; but this prince, whom a natural propenſity drew always a little to that ſide, thought he had now found the opportunity he fought for, to revenge himſelf upon a neighbour who had made it his endeavour to maintain the flame which conſumed the heart of his kingdom. He was ſure of troops from Lorrain: England and Hol-

* M. de Thou makes no doubt but the Duke de Bouillon was the principal author of this war: and his hiſtorian entirely agrees, that in giving this counſel he far leſs conſulted the advantage of the ſtate, and the glory of the King, than his own perſonal intereſt, and that of the Calviniſtical party, who neceſſarily wanted a war, in order to obtain the favourable terms which were granted them by the edict of Nantz. Notwithſtanding the reaſons for declaring war againſt Spain, of which a minute detail may be ſeen in MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi, vol. marked 8955, and in the King's declaration, that is ſet down in tom. VI. of the memoirs de la Ligue: all good writers and judicious perſons are unanimous, in favour of the Duke de Sully's opinion as to the precipitation and imprudence with which Henry IV. conducted himſelf in this affair, the conſequences of which might have been a good deal more fatal than they were.

land,

land, by their ambaſſadors, gave hopes of a powerful diverſion; and, according to the Duke of Bouillon, a ſingle word from him was ſufficient to make all Luxembourg ſurrender: Sancy made great promiſes in behalf of the thirteen Cantons: all Franche-Comté lay open to their ravages. The King was determined by all theſe flattering appearances; and in January, the following year, war was declared in form againſt Spain.

That kingdom ſeemed to give herſelf very little trouble about this proceeding; and anſwered only by ſhewing great contempt for Henry's council, and for Henry himſelf, to whom ſhe gave no other title than that of Prince of Bearn. While ſhe made preparations to defend herſelf, her emiſſaries in France endeavoured to ſpare her the trouble, by an attempt ſo horrid, that it is ſcarce credible ſhe could have recourſe to it.

On the 26th of December, the King being then at Paris, in his apartments in the Louvre *, where he gave orders to Meſſieurs de Ragny and de Montigny, who entered with a great number of other perſons; at the very moment when he ſtooped to embrace one of them, he received a wound in the face with a knife, which the murderer let fall, as he was endeavouring to eſcape through the croud †.

I

* According to others, in the chamber of the Marchioneſs de Monceaux, at the hotel de Schomberg, behind the Louvre: but in fact, it was neither at the Louvre, nor at the Hotel de Schomberg, that this affair happened. A regiſter belonging to the town-houſe at Paris, quoted by Piganiole, tom. 2. de la deſcription de Paris, ſays, that the fair Gabrielle reſided, in 1595, at the Hotel d'Eſtrées; and that it was at this place Henry IV. was wounded. This Hotel was afterwards called L'hotel du Bouchage; and was purchaſed in 1616, by M. de Burelle, in order to lodge and accommodate the fathers of the oratory, who ſtill continue there.

† "Immediately the King, who found himſelf wounded, look-"ing round him, and ſeeing Mathurine, his fool, ſaid, The deuce "take the fool; ſhe has wounded me. But ſhe, denying it, ran di-"rectly to ſhut the door, whereby ſhe was the occaſion of prevent-"ing

I was present, and approached in an agony of grief, seeing the King all covered with blood, and fearing, with reason, that the stroke was mortal. The King removed our apprehensions with an air of sweetness and tranquillity; and we perceived immediately, that his lip only was wounded; the stroke having been aimed too high, the force of it was stopped by a tooth, which it broke.

The parricide was discovered without any difficulty, though he had mixed among the croud. He was a scholar, named John Chatel; and readily answered, when he was interrogated, that he came from the college of the Jesuits, accusing those fathers with being the authors of his crime. The King, who heard him, said, with a gaiety which on such an occasion few persons could have been capable of, that he heard from the mouths of many persons, that the society never loved him, and he was now convinced of it. Chatel was delivered up to justice *; and the prosecutions against the Jesuits, which

"ing this assassin from making his escape; who, upon being seized, "and afterwards searched, dropped his knife, which was all over "bloody." Thus L'Etoile speaks of it. The MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi say quite otherwise in vol. 9033. namely, "that the King "finding himself wounded, spoke thus to one of those two gentle- "men, Ah, cousin, you have wounded me: and that he thereupon "throwing himself at his Majesty's feet, replied, God forbid, Sire, "that I should entertain even a thought of hurting or wounding "your Majesty: I have no weapon about me but the sword by my "side." M. de Thou says, that the Count of Soissons seizing the assassin, spoke aloud to him, that it was one of them two who had given the blow; and that the poignard was perceived to lie at his feet, glittering by the light of the candles. Lib. 3.

* "After having been put to the ordinary and extraordinary trial "upon the rack, which he endured without making any confession, "and having made the *amende honorable*, his hand was cut off, hold- "ing in it the murderous knife with which he intended to kill the "King; then his flesh was torn off with red-hot pincers, and he "was drawn between four horses in the Place de Gréve; his body "and members cast into the fire, and burnt to ashes, and the ashes "thrown into the air. The Sieur Chatel, the father of the parri- "cide, was banished France for nine years, and for ever from the "precincts and jurisdiction of Paris, condemned to pay a fine of four "thousand

which had been suspended, were now resumed more vigorously than before, and terminated in the expulsion of the whole order * out of the kingdom. Father John Guignard † was hanged for his pernicious doctrines against the authority and life of kings. John Gueret ‡, Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, Francis Jacob, and John Le-Bel, other members of the society, suspected of being his accomplices, were obliged to make the *amende honorable*, and condemned to perpetual banishment.

This attempt confirmed the King in his resolution to pursue the war with Spain. He drew a favourable augury for his future success from the advantage he gained in the first acts of hostility. As soon as the treaty between France and Lorrain was concluded, and the latter immediately, and without solicitation, dispersed her troops over Burgundy, under the conduct of Tremblecourt and Saint George, and carried terror into every part of that province. On the other side, the garrison of Soissons, a place absolutely devoted to the league, commanded by Conan and Bellefond, was almost wholly

" thousand crowns, his house razed, and instead thereof a pyramid " erected, containing the whole story of the fact." L'Etoile, *ibid.* It is thought that the little square that lies before the Barnabites, is the spot on which Chatel's house stood.

* " The Jesuits, in obedience to the arret against them, departed " Paris, conducted by a serjeant of the court: they were thirty-" seven in number, part of whom were put into three carts, and " the rest travelled on foot; their procurator being mounted on a lit-" tle nag," &c. L'Etoile, ibid.

† He would not make the *amende honorable* to the King, alledging that he had not offended him. Cayet, ibid.

‡ Here the author is mistaken. John Gueret was, by an express arret, condemned to perpetual banishment; but there is no express mention made of Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, &c. who were comprised with all the rest, and without being particularly named in the arret which proscribed in general the whole society. It is a glaring calumny in Morisot, to have advanced, chap. 32. that Francis Jacob, to whom they had told that Henry IV. was just assassinated by Chatel, boasted that he would have dispatched this prince, if he had not been prevented by Chatel. I know of no historian who has said any such thing.

cut

cut off by Mouſſy ‖, D'Edouville, De Bays, and Gadancourt, the lieutenant of my company. The Duke of Montmorency, to prove himſelf worthy of the dignity of conſtable, which he had lately been inveſted with, fell upon Dauphiny, the Lionnois, and Breſſe, with a body of four thouſand foot, and four hundred well diſciplined horſe; drove out from thoſe places the remainder of the troops belonging to the Dukes of Savoy and Nemours, took Vienne by compoſition from Dizimieux, who was governor of it for the Duke of Nemours, and afterwards Montluel. Marechal Biron, after the expedition at Beaune, made himſelf maſter of Nuys, Autun, and Dijon *. The Duke of Buillon, as ſoon as war was proclaimed, entered Luxembourg, where, with the aſſiſtance of Count Philip of Naſſau, he defeated eight or ten parties of horſe, commanded by Mansfield.

Henry did not doubt but that, by uniting all theſe ſeparate bodies into one army, he ſhould make whatever province he conducted it into tremble. It is certain, that if he did this, he could not make a ſtand every where as before; but the expectations his Majeſty formed from his firſt project, made him reſolve to prefer it. Having the choice of entering Picardy, Champaigne, or Burgundy, he determined upon the laſt, where Meſſieurs de Montmorency, Biron, and Sancy, gave him hopes of great ſucceſs. Their ſecret motives for calling him thither were theſe.

The conſtable Montmorency had been alarmed by the great preparations he ſaw made by Spain in Lombardy, where the Conſtable of Caſtile had orders to quit the Milaneſe, however neceſſary his

‖ On the 25th of February, in the Plains de Villers Coterets in Vallois. The Baron de Conan is called Conas or Conac, in M. de Thou: and inſtead of Bays, you muſt read it Beyne.

* See all theſe different expeditions into Burgundy, in De Thou and D'Aubigné, ann. 1595.

preſence might be in that country, to enter France, and make ſome bold attempt there, after he ſhould be joined by the Count de Fuentes, general of the Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands. Montmorency therefore apprehended, that all theſe troops would fall upon him. Marechal Biron, who was in the ſame quarters, where, after ſeizing the city of Dijon, he had attacked the caſtle of it, and that of Talan, both of great ſtrength, was afraid, likewiſe, that he ſhould be obliged to raiſe the ſiege if he was not aſſiſted.

As to Sancy, his views were to advance his own reputation by the conqueſt of Franche-Comté, to which he was inceſſantly endeavouring to perſuade the King. Convinced by his own experience of Madam de Liancourt's power, he ſought to gain her approbation of this: but the terms he was upon with this lady not permitting him to propoſe it to her himſelf, he concealed his own intereſt in the affair, and made uſe of the interpoſition of others. He cauſed it to be hinted to the Chancellor de Chiverny, and, by his means, to a lady who could not fail of making her court by it to Madam de Liancourt, that the King might eaſily provide a noble inheritance for her ſon Cæſar, by driving out the Spaniards from Franche-Comté, and giving him the poſſeſſion of it under the ſovereignty of the thirteen Cantons, who would be induced by their own intereſt to favour the attempt.

Madam de Liancourt, I am perſuaded, could not flatter herſelf with the hope of gaining the King's conſent to ſo ridiculous a ſcheme; and durſt not even communicate it to him, though this Prince's paſſion * for her was ſo great, that he ſuffered no

* "He went through Paris, having this lady by his ſide; he took "her with him to hunt, and careſſed her before all the world." Journ. de L'Etoile, ibid. And we may judge of the attachment of Henry IV. to this lady, from the letters he writ to her: which ſee in the collection newly printed.

one to be ignorant of it: but there needed no more to make him reſolve upon a journey to Burgundy, than this lady's joining herſelf to thoſe who adviſed him to it. Such is a court, and thus are Kings impoſed upon: from whence they may learn, that, whatever ideas they may have conceived of the wiſdom and abilities of their miniſters, to judge truly of every tranſaction, it is the ſureſt way to ſtudy carefully the ſecret inclinations, intereſt, and diſpoſitions of thoſe who are neareſt to their perſons.

To remedy, in ſome meaſure, the inconveniencies which might ariſe from leaving the frontiers of Picardy expoſed to the inroads of the Spaniſh troops that were in Flanders, the King, who was not, like others, impoſed upon by the great promiſes that England and Holland made him, left Meſſieurs de Nevers, De Bouillon, De Villars, and De Saint Paul, upon this frontier, with each a detachment under their command; enjoining them to aſſiſt each other upon occaſion, and above all, recommending a good intelligence amongſt themſelves. In caſe of a re-union, the Duke of Nevers was appointed to command in chief. He provided with the ſame wiſdom and foreſight for the affairs at home, by eſtabliſhing a council, which, beſides the finances, was to take cogniſance of all the treaties that were made with the provinces, cities, and governors; of all affairs relating to war; and of the civil adminiſtration of the kingdom.

As ſoon as his Majeſty had publicly explained himſelf with regard to the forming this council, the Count of Soiſſons wiſhed to be made preſident of it; and began to inſinuate ſomething to that purpoſe in the King's preſence. That I might remove his reſentment againſt me for traverſing his marriage, I ſolicited this title for him, which was more honourable than effective, and in all appearance would be of ſhort duration: but the King, whoſe averſion for the Count increaſed every day, had

had already fixed upon the Prince of Conti, and at dinner declared his purpose before the whole court. Then turning to the Count of Soissons, he told him, that, knowing his disposition to be turned wholly towards war, he would keep him about his person this campaign; and ordered him to get his company of the household troops in readiness to attend him. The Prince of Conti answered only with a profound bow, because he expressed himself with difficulty; and the Count of Soissons did the same, because anger hindered him from speaking: all his Majesty said to him being accompanied with praises of his valour, and an air of distinction which forced him to appear satisfied.

The members of the new council were almost all the same that had composed the former; to which were added three intendants, Heudicourt, Marcel, and Guibert: the number was afterwards augmented to eight, by joining to those three Incarville, Des-Barreaux, Atichy, Santeny, and Vienne, and a secretary named Meillant. Although the Duke of Nevers was not now in the council, the King found no less difficulty in procuring me a place in this than in the former. He was afraid to propose it at first, on account of the Catholics, who could not suffer a Protestant in power: but he broke through this obstacle three days afterwards; and the reason he gave for it to the other counsellors was, that the confidence which the Prince of Conti had in me, rendered my association necessary even to themselves.

The road his Majesty was to take being through Moret, I attended him so far, not so much to receive him there, since Madam de Rosny could have done that without me, as to have an opportunity of conferring privately with this Prince, and of receiving his last instructions concerning any affairs that might in his absence be brought before the council, the members whereof did not long conti-

nue in a ſtate of friendſhip. My colleagues, perceiving by the private diſpatches I received from the King, that I was in poſſeſſion of his confidence, entered, through jealouſy, into a combination againſt me, looking upon me as one who would carry away the honour of every thing laudable that might be done by the council. They ſought to diſguſt me, or to ſilence me, by joining in a conſtant oppoſition to all my opinions; but finding that, notwithſtanding this behaviour, I ſtill followed my own plan, they had recourſe to another ſtratagem, and in our aſſemblies every affair was diſcuſſed but what related to the finances, which was referred to private meetings, either at the Chancellor's or at Sancy's; and there all was regulated without my participation. I did not diſſemble my thoughts of this colluſion, but declared to them, that I had no deſire to mix in their debates; and, inſtead of ſigning their decrees, proteſted againſt them, and retired to Moret. The members of the council, who could not even invent any pretence for the diſguſt they gave me, being afraid of his Majeſty's reproaches, prevailed upon the Prince of Conti himſelf to intreat me to return. Being always naturally incapable of flattery, or of acting inconſiſtently with my own ſentiments, I replied, that ſince they did not rectify the abuſes which had been introduced into the finances, although they were ſufficiently acquainted with them, I would at leaſt avoid the reproach of following their conduct, and would ſtay at Moret, rather than be a witneſs of faults which I ſaw committed with impunity.

The King, whom I informed of what had happened to me, found ſo much conformity between his ſituation and mine, that he thought he could not conſole me more effectually, than by acquainting me of it in his turn. He had indeed untractable tempers to deal with. The Count of Soiſſons, who had followed him with reluctance, revenged himſelf

himſelf by repeated inſtances of his caprice and ill humour. But not all his endeavours could induce the King, however greatly he was offended, to order him to retire; which was all he wanted; and he was at laſt obliged to go of his own accord, upon a pretence ſo very trifling, that it had ſcarcely the appearance of one. A report being ſpread, that the Conſtable of Caſtile was approaching, the King ordered the Conſtable de Montmorency, and Marechal Biron, to bring up the two bodies of troops which they commanded: the Count of Soiſſons alledged, that, by his poſt of high ſteward of the King's houſhold, he had a right to the chief command of theſe troops in his Majeſty's abſence, and aſſerted his claim to it in his preſence. The King did not think proper even to requeſt a favour of this nature from the Conſtable and the Marechal; and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to baniſh ſo ridiculous a notion from the Count's mind. He ſolicited, he intreated him, as he would have done his ſon or brother (theſe were his Majeſty's own words) but in vain: the Count, who did not err through ignorance, quitted him with a diſſembled diſcontent, and prevailed upon part of the ſoldiers under his command to do the like. The King immediately diſpatched letters to his council, to take proper meaſures upon the Count's flight: the ſame meſſenger left one for me as he paſſed by Moret. Henry did not yet know that I had retired thither; but we had agreed upon this expedient, to conceal from my enemies the correſpondence I had with his Majeſty.

Three or four days after the receipt of this letter, my ſervants informed me that ſome ſoldiers were juſt arrived, who inſiſted upon quartering at Saint-Mamert, a village upon the confluence of the Seine and the Loin, dependent upon Moret, and diſtant from it about a quarter of a league. I ſent Camord to bring me intelligence who they were, and

what

what was their deſign. They not only neglected to return me by this gentleman the uſual compliments upon theſe occaſions, but likewiſe anſwered him inſolently, that they had a right to quarter in any place where their horſes began to be fatigued, and all that could be required of them was to do no miſchief. They refuſed to name their captains, and only ſaid, that they belonged to the Count of Soiſſons. To put theſe officers ſtill farther in the fault, I wrote to them a ſecond time, telling them that, ſince they belonged to the Count of Soiſſons, who honoured me with his friendſhip, they were welcome to quarter at Moret; that I would provide them lodgings in the inns and houſes of the town's people, where they would have greater conveniency; and juſt hinted to them that I was ſenſible of the manner in which they had received my deputy. Camord, whom I would have ſent with this ſecond meſſage, told me, that it would have no other effect than to increaſe the inſolence of theſe officers, who came with a premeditated deſign to affront me; which he confirmed by ſeveral other circumſtances of his reception, that he had concealed from me before, to avoid a greater misfortune. Madam de Roſny, who was preſent at this relation, began to give way to female fears; and accuſing Camord with imprudence, ſaid, ſhe had rather that the whole village of Saint-Mamert was laid in ruins, than ſee me, for ſo ſlight an occaſion, at variance with the Count, and expoſed to a conteſt with his officers.

I bid my wife be ſilent; and after arreſting five or ſix of the troopers, who came to get their equipages mended at Moret, and to purchaſe proviſions, I again ſent Camord to thoſe inſolent officers. They received him ſtill worſe than before, and hardly forbore laying hands on him; mingling great threatening with their complaints for the

the detention of their ſoldiers. It was no longer poſſible to diſſemble; and all that now remained to be done, was to aſſert my authority, yet with all poſſible moderation. I ordered twelve other troopers, who had juſt entered Moret, to be arreſted; and in two hours time aſſembled an hundred and fifty arquebuſiers, thirty horſe, and thirty foot ſoldiers; with whom I marched to Saint-Mamert, by the road that leads to it by land, and which was a thick ſhade of trees on each ſide; while the reſt of my troop purſued the ſame rout upon the river, in a flat boat covered with planks, and arrived at the ſame time with me under the houſes of the village ſituated near the river. The Count of Soiſſon's party, ſeeing this double eſcort, detached ſome of their men to aſk me what I meant by it? Nothing, (replied I calmly) but "that this village belonging to me, I come to "quarter my ſoldiers here." The officers by theſe words underſtood that I was not diſpoſed to yield to them; and ſent again to make excuſes for what had happened, telling me that they had no deſign to quarter in any place that belonged to me, without my permiſſion; which the Count of Soiſſons would never pardon them for. In effect, they paid for what proviſions they had bought, and remounted their horſes, without even demanding the priſoners, whom I ſent after them as ſoon as they had reached Dormeilles. They thanked me, and offered me their ſervice, which entirely removed my anger. I ſent the officers a dozen bottles of wine and two pies; after which I mounted my horſe, to go, in obedience to his Majeſty's order, to conſult with the Prince of Conti upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken with regard to the Count of Soiſſon's deſertion

This misfortune was very inconſiderable, compared to that which happened in Picardy. The jealouſy of command created a miſunderſtanding between

between the Duke of Nevers and the Duke of Bouillon. The Counts of Fuentes and Roſne, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, and were doubtleſs informed of it, took advantage of their diviſion, and laid ſiege to Catalet and Capelle. The firſt of theſe two places wanted proviſions and warlike ſtores, and the ſecond had a diſhonourable governor: but the loſs of them was chiefly occaſioned by the two French generals *, who through hatred of each other, neglected to give them any aſſiſtance.

Things were in this ſtate, when the governor of Ham, a place belonging to the Spaniards being diſcontented with his garriſon, reſolved to deliver up the caſtle of Ham to the King, which would neceſſarily include the ſurrender of the city. He addreſſed himſelf to the Duke of Longueville, and intreated him to ſend him a powerful aſſiſtance, having a very numerous garriſon to oppoſe. The Duke of Longueville acquainted his general officers, and the Duke of Bouillon in particular, with the affair, who promiſed him a ſpeedy ſupply. Upon this aſſurance, the Duke of Longueville, that he might not by delay loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, haſtened immediately to Ham with D'Humieres, followed by ſome Picardine troops, and threw part of them into the caſtle, and part in the adjacent places, endeavouring to reduce the city by ſcaling and petarding. The enemy's garriſon defended themſelves like lions, and repulſed them ſeveral times; and probably a hotter action of this kind never happened. At length, the French, animated by the bravery of their leaders, who found that it was in vain to

* Brantome juſtifies the Duke de Nevers concerning the defeat the French met with at Doullens; and obſerves that he advanced by long marches, and that he ordered them to wait for him: but the other commanders did not think proper to do ſo. Tom. III. p. 268.

expect any assistance from the Duke of Bouillon, attacked the trench next the castle, carried it, and entered the city. The Spanish garrison received them there with great intrepidity: being forced to give ground, they rallied again several times, and many little battles were fought in the squares, cross-ways, and even in the houses; till they were all, to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred men, cut in pieces. But the French bought this advantage very dear; it cost them thirty of their best officers, among whom were Du-Cluseau and La-Croix, and D'Humiers himself *, the best and bravest officer in all Picardy.

Messieurs de Saint-Paul, de Bouillon, and Villars, thought they could not better employ their troops, during this interval, than by raising the siege of Dourlens, which had been attacked by Fuentes and Rosne, after the taking of Catelet and Capelle. The Duke of Bouillon brought four hundred horse, Villars as many, and Saint-Paul five hundred; and their infantry consisted, in all, of two thousand men, which they determined to throw into the city, if they failed of driving the besiegers from before it.

About half a league from Dourlens, Bouillon having sent fifty of his troop five hundred paces before him, to gain the summit of a mountain, from whence they might have a full view of the city and the camp of the besiegers, four of their horses, who preceded the others, perceived a body of the enemy coming directly towards them, between the camp and the hill. This was, in effect, their whole army, in order of battle, which had got intelligence of our design. But these four troopers, being hindered by their fear from

* Nothing can be added to the euluogium which M. de Thou gives this gentleman: he says, book cxii. that the King and the whole kingdom lamented him: his life and illustrious actions fill the 8930th vol. of MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

making a full discovery, made a false report to the Duke of Bouillon, who, supposing it to be only a detachment, hastened his march towards them with his squadron. Arriving at the top of the hill, he plainly saw his mistake. One party of one hundred horse preceded two squadrons of six hundred each; which followed at the distance of about a thousand paces, and were supported by three other squadrons, consisting of an equal number, and a body of seven or eight thousand foot. The hundred horse, perceiving Bouillon, galloped towards him, followed at a great pace by the two first squadrons, all armed cap-a-pie, and lances by their sides; which left him no room to doubt but that the French were discovered, and that they would be obliged to engage, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, the Spaniards being stronger by two thirds than they, unless he could conceal from them his little party.

Bouillon, sending a gentleman to the Admiral, to desire he would come immediately to his assistance; Villars, who was bravery itself, without answering a single word, armed himself in the midst of his troopers, and making them put their helmets on, exhorted them no otherwise than by bidding them follow him; and Bouillon saw him in an instant at his side. Finding him in such a good disposition, he told him, that to prevent the enemy from discovering their rear, it was necessary to charge them with as much fury as possible. The Admiral staid not to be desired a second time; but, supposing that he should be vigorously supported by Bouillon, advanced, through emulation, first with his troop, and galloping intrepidly towards the enemy, suddenly attacked the left wing, threw himself with his pistol in his hand, amidst that forest of lances, and carrying terror and dismay through the first six hundred horse,

horſe, would have cut them in pieces, and perhaps have gained ſtill greater advantages, if he had been ſeconded with equal bravery: but Bouillon, on his ſide, made only a falſe attack; after which he wheeled about and retreated, and has ſince conſtantly maintained, that it was this only which had been agreed upon between the * Admiral and him, although all thoſe who accompanied the latter have unanimouſly aſſerted, that he meant a true attack.

This miſtake, if it was one, had a conſequence as fatal as might have been expected: the enemy's ſquadron which Bouillon had attacked and afterwards ſhunned, was the firſt to fall upon Villars, who was then conqueror of his own; and being that inſtant joined by freſh troops, which came pouring on him in great numbers, his ſquadron, being quite overwhelmed, could find their ſafety only in flight. Villars, incapable of fear, and diſdaining to turn his back upon the enemy, performed wonders with a few brave men who would not abandon him; but at laſt being attacked on all ſides, and ſurround by the enemy, they were all thrown to the ground, and expired, pierced with a thouſand wounds or maſſacred in cold blood †.

Bouillon

* If we will not give credit to his biographer, let us believe M. de Thou, who entirely clears the Duke de Bouillon: he moreover, ſays, that the Admiral de Villars was acquainted by the Count de Saint-Paul to retire, but that he did not take this notice for any other than a kind of order of the Duke de Bouillon, to which he refuſed to pay any regard, through a piece of vanity and bravery which cannot be excuſed from the imputation of temerity, l. 112, D'Aubigny ſpeaks in the ſame manner as de Thou, tom. 3. l. 4. c. 9. Les Mem. de la Ligue, tom. 6. and Matthieu. tom. 2. l. 1. The opinion of Cayet is, that the Admiral de Villars would willingly have taken advantage of the advice which the Duke of Bouillon cauſed to be given him to retire, but that he was then too far engaged. Chron. Noven. l. 7. p. 504.

† The Admiral de Villars was among theſe laſt: after having been made priſoner by ſome Neapolitans, a Spaniſh captain, named

Bouillon gained nothing by this ſacrifice of his colleague: the victorious enemy attacked his ſquadron, the other commanded by Saint-Paul, and the whole body of foot. Their leader had not inſpired them, by his example, with a reſolution to defend themſelves, and at this moment he minded nothing leſs. Bouillon and Saint Paul fled with their cavalry, leaving the foot without any hopes of ſafety; in effect they were all cut to pieces. After this, the beſieged in vain demanded to capitulate. The enemy, intoxicated with their good fortune, would liſten to no propoſals, but ſtormed the place while they were parleying, and inhumanly butchered all they found in it. I had this whole relation from La-Font, who, after the loſs of his maſter, returned to my ſervice; and the reader may be aſſured that it is abſolutely true, ſince this man deſerves all the faith that is due to a man of honour, and an eye witneſs of what he relates. He told me that more than three thouſand French were loſt upon this occaſion; and, what is truly deplorable, more valiant men periſhed, than in thoſe three great battles the King fought at Courtras, Argues, and Ivry: France, in Villars alone, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs; to the general grief of the kingdom, I joined mine in particular, for the loſs of a true and excellent friend.

Another letter, equally worthy of credit, from the Sieur Baltazar, whom I had charged expreſsly not to omit the ſmalleſt circumſtance relating to the actions of the King's army, puts it in my power to inform the reader of all that paſſed. In

Contrera, entered on purpoſe into a diſpute with them about having him, and he made a handle of their refuſal, to kill him. L'Etoile ſays, that the hatred which the Spaniards bore him, from the time that he quitted the party of the league for that of the King, was the true cauſe of his death. He gives him the ſame encomiums as M. de Roſny. Journ. de P. de L'Etoile, Ann. 1595.

this

this recital he will, with great pleaſure, behold a King whom the ſweets of royalty had not power to alter; his ſucceſſes were ſuch, in all their circumſtances, as could be attributed to nothing but his own valour and good conduct, and the glory of them was heightened by the oppoſition of theſe misfortunes which happened in all places where he was not in perſon. This campaign of Henry's in Franche-Comté, in the opinion of the beſt judges, exceeded all he had hitherto performed.

I have before obſerved, that Marechal Biron was employed in aſſiſting the citizens of Dijon, who held the enemies garriſon beſieged in the caſtle. He arrived there very ſeaſonably: the Viſcount of Tavannes having brought a conſiderable reinforcement to this garriſon, the beſieged became beſiegers in their turn. The citizens, preſſed on all ſides, and reduced to the laſt extremity, could only defend themſelves at the end of a ſtreet to which they had retired, and had but one of the city-gates in their poſſeſſion, when Biron came to their aſſiſtance, and reanimated their courage; they once more drove out the Viſcount Tavannes, and inveſted him in the caſtles of Dijon and Talan *. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions Biron was informed that the Duke of Maïenne, full of grief for the ſucceſs of the King's arms in Burgundy, had ſo earneſtly ſolicited the Conſtable of Caſtile for aſſiſtance, that the latter was upon the point of paſſing the Alps, with his army, to enter Burgundy. Biron, concealing this intelligence from the King, contented himſelf with only ſending to intreat he would come as ſoon as poſſible to help him to reduce the caſtle of Dijon. The King was come to Troyes when he received the Marechal's diſpatches; and barely gueſſing at a circumſtance which

* About half a league from Dijon, where an Italian, named Franciſque, commanded.

the

the Marechal had an abſolute certainty of, namely, that the Conſtable of Caſtile, who, he ſuppoſed, would ſoon paſs into Flanders, would take Dijon in his way, to ſettle there the affairs of the league with the Duke of Maïenne, he marched thither haſtily, and put every thing in motion, that they might find nothing more to do at their arrival.

It is not to be doubted but that theſe two generals might again have prevented the King, and preſerved the caſtles of Dijon, had they not ſtopped unſeaſonably in their way to take Veſou, and ſome other little places in Franche-Comté, which had been ſeized by the troops of Lorrain. To this voluntary delay neceſſity afterwards added another at Gray, by the overflowing of the river Saone, which rendered their paſſage impracticable. To remove this obſtacle, the conſtable of Caſtile cauſed a bridge to be built over the river: but by his carrying on this work ſo ſlowly, it ſeemed as if he was afraid of engaging himſelf in the heart of France, with ſo many rivers behind him. The truth was, this general already knew that he had the King before him.

When the King left Troyes he ſent the Count of Torigny with eight or nine hundred horſe before him, with which Marechal Biron was extremely pleaſed. For days after, Henry himſelf arrived at Dijon, and, without diſmounting, went immediately to reconnoitre the outworks, and all the neighbouring places; eſpecially on that ſide where the enemy might be expected. He cauſed deep trenches to be made, and by that means cut off all communication between the two caſtles. This done, the King perceiving that notwithſtanding all the efforts he could make, the caſtles might ſtill hold out a long time, he went, according to his uſual cuſtom, with a ſmall detachment to meet the enemy, that he might retard their march, and

give

give time to the rest of their troops to finish their enterprise. He thought, if he could find his enemies employed in their passage over the Saone, it would afford him a favourable opportunity, though he had but an inconsiderable body with him: he therefore appointed Lux and Fountain-Françoise* for a rendezvous for the rest of his troops, and marched before with only three hundred horse, half of whom were arquebusiers; and with this little escort advanced to the Vigenne, near Saint-Seine; from thence he detached the Marquis of Mirebeau, with fifty or sixty horse to get intelligence; and in the mean time he passed the river of Vigenne with a hundred, or a hundred and twenty horse; designing only to reconnoitre the ground, and the form of a country, where he might possibly be obliged to come to an engagement.

He had not marched more than a league, when he saw Mirebeau return in great disorder: who told him, that he had been charged by three or four hundred horse; which had prevented him from getting a full view of the enemy: but added that he believed those four hundred horse had been sent to seize the post of Saint-Seine, and that they were followed close by the whole army. Biron, who arrived that instant, offered to go and make a clearer discovery. At the distance of a thousand paces he found, upon a little hill, an advanced guard, consisting of sixty horse, which he attacked; and taking their place, saw plainly the whole Spanish army marching in order of battle; and in particular, a body of four hundred horse, which, advancing before the rest of the army, pursued a party of one hundred and fifty French. This was the party commanded by D'Aussonville, whom his Majesty had sent to make discoveries on the other

* Upon the frontiers of Burgundy and Franche-Comté: this expedition happened in the beginning of June.

side.

ſide. D'Auſſonville, by flying, diverted the ſtorm upon Biron. The enemy's detachment dividing into two bands, attacked him on the right and left, doubtleſs with the ſame intention as Biron, to diſcover what forces were in the rear. The difference between them was, that the enemies, being ſupported by near ſix hundred horſe, were two thirds ſuperior in number to the two ſquadrons commanded by Biron and Mirebeau, which made up only three hundred.

Notwithſtanding this inequality, Biron continued to make a ſtand: he ſeparated his three hundred horſe into three equal platoons, placing Mirebeau, with the firſt, on the right; the Baron of Lux, with the ſecond, on the left; and poſted himſelf, with the third, in the middle. The enemy attacked each ſide at once, with a hundred and fifty men: Lux ſuffered greatly, and was even thrown to the ground, with many others: Biron, having the advantage in this place, flew to his aſſiſtance, and reanimated his troops; but was himſelf charged with ſuch impetuoſity by all the enemy's ſquadrons united together, towards whom he ſaw others from the main body of the army ſtill advancing, that he was obliged to retreat. This retreat, as ſoon as the enemy's horſe drew nearer, was changed into a real flight; in which condition he came within view of the King, who immediately ſent a hundred horſe to ſupport him. Nothing is more difficult than to ſtop the flight of a ſquadron when the enemy is at their heels; the laſt hundred were ſeized with the ſame pannic, and returned flying with thoſe whom they went to ſupport.

The King now finding that all depended upon himſelf advanced towards the fugitives, without taking time to put on his helmet, expoſed himſelf to the fury of the victorious ſquadron, which conſiſted of more than eight hundred men, called his

principal officers by their names, and throwing himſelf every where, without any regard to his own perſon, obliged ſome of the fugitives at laſt to ſtop. He compoſed two bodies of the whole, and putting himſelf at the head of a hundred and fifty horſe, returned to the charge on one ſide, while La-Tremouille, with a like number, did the ſame, by his order, on the other. But for this intrepidity, it is probable, that not one of thoſe three hundred men, engaged thus on the farther ſide of a river, with a victorious body of cavalry in front, would have eſcaped. The King *, giving his ſoldiers an example, threw himſelf, bareheaded, amidſt ſix of the enemy's ſquadron, broke through them, and forced them to give ground. Biron,

* The King ſaid, that upon other occaſions and emergencies into which he had happened to fall, he ſought for victory, but here he contended for his life. Perefixe, Matthieu, Cayet, Le Graine, and D'Aubigné, relate the actions of this day in the ſame manner: but M. de Thou, and vol. 8929 of the royal MSS. with ſome little difference. D'Aubigné ſays, that the King did not ſhew himſelf entirely ſatisfied, that only the Duke de la Tremouille and D'Elbeuf joined together with a good grace, "To bruſh off," ſays he, "the dew be-"fore his Majeſty." Tom. 3. l. 4. c. 8. But according to De Thou, he commended much before the parliament Mirebeau, La Curée, and many others.

"I have no need of council but of aſſiſtance," replied Henry IV. to thoſe who adviſed him to make his eſcape on a good Turkiſh horſe that was got ready for him; "There is more hazard in the flight "than the chace." Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 1. p. 187. "Mainville," adds this hiſtorian, "who ſtood near him, and had his piſtol ready "charged for the firſt of the enemy that came near him, let fire at "one ſo *a propos*, that he ſhot him quite through the head; and the "ball came whiſtling ſo about the King's ears, that he never ſpoke "of a piſtol but he remembered this report, ſaying, That it was the "loudeſt he had ever heard, having been charged with two ſteel "balls." According to the account of the ſame hiſtorian, the Duke de Maienne demanded only four hundred horſe of the Spaniſh general to attack the King's troops; which the Spaniard refuſed him, being perſuaded that Henry only wanted to draw him into an ambuſcade. This diſtruſt of the enemy was the occaſion of his eſcape at Fontaine-Françoiſe, as it had been before at Aumale. And what is more ſurpriſing is, that this prince only loſt ſix men in ſo hot an action: while on the enemy's ſide were killed one hundred and twenty, beſides two hundred wounded, and ſixty taken priſoners. Chron. Noven. l. 7. p. 47.

taking advantage of this opportunity, rallied about a hundred and twenty horſe, and returned to ſupport the King, and altogether drove the enemy's horſe back to the main body of the Duke of Maïenne's army.

Henry would not have ſuffered his ardour to have tranſported him ſo far, but that he did not immediately perceive, that a wood on each ſide of him was crouded with fuſileers, to whoſe diſcharge he had like to have been expoſed, and would have been ſurrounded by them, if, in the heat of the fight, he had attacked the Spaniſh army: he therefore ſtopped his career, and kept himſelf upon his guard. At that moment he perceived two other bodies of horſe, who came out of one of thoſe woods to ſtrengthen the advanced guard, which he had vanquiſhed. This was one of thoſe critical moments, when the leaſt want of precaution brings on inevitable ruin. The King, who with one glance perceived the deſign of theſe troops, ordered his to halt and thicken their ranks, that they might be in a condition to receive them; for in the heat of his victory he overturned all that oppoſed him, and found himſelf at large before all thoſe battalions, who were aſtoniſhed at the miracles they ſaw him perform. Henry knew this ſurprize would not laſt long, and that he would have the fury of a whole army to ſuſtain, animated by the ſight of a handful of foes, to repair the ſhame of ſuch an aſtoniſhing defeat; he therefore took advantage of the enemy's inaction, to regain at leaſt his firſt poſt, without being purſued; and diſengaged himſelf from the midſt of the enemy's army with ſo much order and ſuperiority, that they could make themſelves no amends for their loſs. And this Prince, in one day, and almoſt in one moment, acquired the honour of the moſt glorious victory,

victory, and of the fineſt retreat of which any hiſtory ever afforded an example.

On his arrival, he found the Count of Chiverny, the Chevalier d'Oiſe, Meſſieurs de Vitry, de Clermont, de Riſſe, d'Arambure, de La-Curée *, d'Heures, de Saint-Geran, and de La-Boulaye, with each his company, which being joined to thoſe troops the King had before, compoſed a body of eight hundred horſe. After this reinforcement, the enemy durſt not attack them, being perſuaded that his whole army was not far off; and not yet recovered from their conſternation at the defeat of their men by a platoon ſcarce the ſixth part of their number, they turned back, placing the infantry in the rear to cover their cavalry. The King followed them cloſe, and harraſſed them continually, till they had repaſſed the Saone upon the bridge they had built below Gray. Not daring to attempt the paſſage again, Burgundy, by this exploit, remained wholly at the King's diſcretion; he reduced it all in a few days, except the Seure †, and ſeized ſeveral little towns in Franche-Compté, which he releaſed, at the intreaty of the Swiſs. Theſe advantages were all owing to the battle of Fontain-Françoiſe.

Henry, when he learnt the defeat of his forces in Picardy, confeſſed, that thoſe advantages, great as they were, did not equal that loſs. He quitted Burgundy and the Lyonnois immediately, and marched haſtily towards Paris. Paſſing by Moret, I acquainted him with my motives for leaving the council; he approved of them, and was of opinion,

* This gentleman fought without armour, and was badly mounted. A voice which he thought to be the King's, called to him, "Take care, Curée;" when, lo, he found it was one of the enemy, who was juſt ready to run him through with his lance; but he killed him. Vol. 8929. MSS. de Bibliot. de Roi.

† Seure, a town upon the river Saone: it has changed its name, and now is called Bellegarde.

that the confidence which the other members of it perceived he repoſed in me, and the deſire I had to make myſelf ſtill more worthy that diſtinction, had drawn their enmity upon me. He had the goodneſs to conſole me, by aſſuring me, hat my ſufferings upon this occaſion would only increaſe his friendſhip for me I agreed with his Majeſty, that at a time when the check his forces received at Dourlens might occaſion a revolution, there was a neceſſity to diſſemble his diſguſt, and to avoid accuſing any one. It was to me only that the King complained of the authors of that fatal accident, and deplored the dangerous effects of diſagreement among generals, which is almoſt the ſole cauſe of the greateſt diſaſters in war. He appeared ſenſibly affected with the loſs of Adm. Villars, and never mentioned him but with the higheſt praiſes: nor could he be deceived by any thing which the intereſted parties advanced, to place all that had happened to the account of the deceaſed.

It was then that this prince was convinced, and acknowledged to me, that he had yielded unreaſonably to propoſals for a war, the ſucceſs of which he had been perſuaded was infallible: he was even candid enough to treat it as an error which might plunge France once more into greater miſeries than thoſe ſhe had been juſt delivered from. By ſpeaking thus, the King conſidered only the greatneſs of a loſs ſuch as Catelet, Capelle, Ardres *, Dourlens, Cambray, from which Balagny had been juſt driven; and Calais eſpecially, which though not yet taken, was looked upon as already loſt: for my part, I thought the kingdom was then in moſt danger, when the King,

* Ardres was ſurrendered to the enemy by the Count de Belin almoſt without making any defence; for which he was diſgraced, turned out of his places, and ſent home to his eſtate, &c. Bongars Epiſt. 75. ad Camer. Moriſot, c. 33.

by an aſtoniſhing inſtance of valour and good fortune, preſerved Burgundy and his own life. From that time Henry uſed to ſay, that a declaration of war was one of thoſe affairs that required the greateſt deliberation, and could never be ſufficiently enough attended to. From this example, princes may ſtill draw another leſſon no leſs uſeful, which is, that they ought never to harbour a rancorous hatred againſt their neighbours, and that prudence, on certain occaſions, requires them to ſeem diſpoſed for a reconciliation, notwithſtanding the moſt violent, and even the moſt juſt reſentment.

The King was careful to avoid diſcovering his thoughts in public; on the contrary, he endeavoured to revive the courage of thoſe who ſeemed moſt depreſſed. To the Pariſians, who made him compliments of condolance upon his loſs, he replied, that it might be eaſily repaired, provided they would join actions to words. They made him great offers; but his Majeſty who had had frequent proofs of the little dependence he could have on them, took his own meaſures, and without waiting for the accompliſhment of their promiſes, left Paris the next day, with the ſatisfaction of hearing before he went, by a courier from Rome, that the Pope had been at laſt prevailed upon to grant him the abſolution * he had ſo long ſolicited. In the preſent conjuncture, this news was of the utmoſt importance.

To this abſolution the holy father annexed the following conditions †: That the King ſhould exclude

* "What made the Pope," ſays M. de Perefixe, "delay giving "abſolution ſo long, was, becauſe that he alone had the power of re- "ſtoring penitents: and he was very much diſpleaſed, that the pre- "lates of France had taken upon them to abſolve him, though they "had only done it proviſionally, *ad cautelam*."

† Beſides theſe conditions, the original of which may be ſeen in vol. 8773. of the MSS. de la Biblot. du Roi, where the act of abſolution of Henry IV. is ſet down at length, in Italian, the holy father impoſes therein for penance upon this Prince, to hear, on every Sunday

clude the Proteſtants from all employments and dignities, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs them

Sunday and feſtival, a conventual maſs in the chapel royal, and private maſs every week day, to ſay the roſary every Sunday, the chapelet every Saturday, and the litanies every Wednesday, to faſt every Friday, to confeſs and communicate publicly at leaſt four times a year. I obſerve, in this act, that the Pope, after having given this Prince abſolution, then entitles him only the King of France and Navarre. At each verſe of the Miſerere, the holy father gave a light touch of the penitentiary crook on the ſhoulders of M. Du Perron, and M. D'Oſſat, who are therein called Procuratori di Navarra: this is but an ordinary formality in this ſort of ceremony; upon which the Proteſtant writers have not failed to comment with great malignity, by ſaying that Henry IV. had ſubmitted to receive laſhes of the whip from the procurator, and other ſuch like calumnies: but theſe malicious pleaſantries have not been able to impoſe upon any, ſince M. de Thou and all the ſenſible writers have ſhewn, that they were altogether unjuſt and without foundation. M. de Sully, as far as appears, had got over this popular error; but I know not if he obſerves the ſame equity with regard to M. D'Oſſat.

What he ſays here, and in many other places of theſe Memoirs, excited in me a curioſity to read carefully the Collection of this Cardinal's letters, who is reputed amongſt us to have been as good a Frenchman as an able ſtateſman. I will ſpeak freely my mind as to each grievance which furniſhes the Duke de Sully with occaſion of attacking him, according as they fall in my way. And to begin with that of Henry IV.th's abſolution, it appears to me, after examining all he ſays on this head. p. 45. 48. 105. 107. 115. 129. 208. &c. of the old edition in folio, that we cannot but acknowledge, on one hand, that he met with great ſcruples in the Pope's breaſt, and real difficulties on the part of the ſacred college; that he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity and with equal ſucceſs to ſurmount them; and that any but he would have had much to do to have conquered them; as is evident from what happened to the Duke de Nevers, the Cardinal de Retz, the Marquis de Piſany, and others; that for his own part he is very far from approving the many ſubterfuges to which the court of Rome had often recourſe in their formalities: and even that all this chicane made him often uneaſy, as alſo the unfair dealing which, he complains, they uſed in the bull of abſolution. However, in oppoſition to all this, a man may perceive, on the other hand, in theſe very places, and ſtill more in all thoſe paſſages that in any meaſure relate to the Proteſtants, the Jeſuits, or the council of Trent, &c. that his Eminence was not at all diſturbed, that the affair of the King's abſolution had paſſed under the reſtrictions of which M. de Sully complains ſo bitterly: whether it was that M. D'Oſſat did not perceive therein the pretended leſſon of the honour of the crown, and the prejudice done to the liberties of the Gallican church, which I leave to the learned to determine; or whether the believed that all theſe precautions became neceſſary for the intereſt of religion;

them entirely: That he ſhould re-eſtabliſh the maſs in Bearn, and oblige the Huguenots to make reſtitution to the Catholics of all the effects which had been taken from the eccleſiaſtics: That he ſhould prevail upon the Prince of Condé to embrace the Roman Catholic religion: That he ſhould publiſh and cauſe the council of Trent to be received: And laſtly, That the Jeſuits ſhould be again eſtabliſhed in France. Theſe conditions which regarded the Proteſtants, and the council of Trent, were not complied with, the reſt were.

Thoſe perſons who thought the King received laws from the Pope upon this occaſion, ought to lay the blame upon Du Perron, and ſtill more upon Arnaud D'Oſſat, then agent for this affair at Rome. Theſe two eccleſiaſtics were ſo far from rejecting theſe conditions, that they would have been grieved, if they had not been inſiſted upon; if any credit may be given to a memorial which was many years afterwards ſent me from Rome, and which I ſhall ſpeak of fully in its proper place: it affords a complete proof of what I have juſt advanced, at leaſt with regard to D'Oſſat.

This memorial advances two things relating to the King's abſolution, which is one of its principal articles. That the Pope and the whole ſacred college were ſo ardently deſirous of the King's applying to Rome for this ceremony, that they could not conceal their fears, when they were ſometimes informed that Henry would be brought to deſpiſe it, or to reckon it uſeleſs; and this the author proves from their own letters: ſecondly, That D'Oſſat, in-

religion; or, laſtly, whether he were not biaſſed in favour of the maxims of the league: and yet all this does not hinder me from ſubſcribing to the encomiums given to this Cardinal by all our beſt hiſtorians, and laſt of all by Amelot de la Houſſaye, in the life he gives us of him, prefixed to the edition of his letters, to which I refer the reader. The Abbé du Perron, and M. de Villeroi, had likewiſe done conſiderable ſervice to Henry IV. in the affair of his abſolution. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 210. et ſeqq.

ſtead

ſtead of informing the King of this diſpoſition in the court of Rome, which he would have done had his honour and dignity been of the ſmalleſt conſequence to him; on the contrary, gave this prince to underſtand, that he could not obtain a reconciliation with his Holineſs, but by offering an incroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican church, and purchaſing it by thoſe conditions already mentioned. Henry, however, rewarded his two agents with the moſt eminent dignities in the prelacy

In three days his Majeſty arrived at Péronne, where he was immediately ſaluted by Balagny. This man who, by an exceſs of ridiculous vanity *, had juſt loſt his government, his fortune, his wife, and his honour, inſtead of bluſhing for his folly, and concealing himſelf from reproach, affected to ſhew himſelf, talked big; and in this ſtate, which was indeed the fitteſt ſtate for him, expected all that regard which is generally paid to unfortunate ſovereigns. The King reſolved to attempt every thing to affiſt Calais, and finding that his troops

* M. de Perefixe ſays, that Cambray was taken by famine: others, as Matthieu, blame the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted between the Duke de Nevers and de Bouillon for it; and others again the negligence of Balagny. The memoirs of the league, tom. 6. remark, that three companies of Swiſs, not having had their pay given them, compelled him to give up the place. All the hiſtorians have cried up the courage of Renée de Clermont, the wife of Balagny, and ſiſter to the brave Buſſy d'Amboiſe, who, after having, to no purpoſe, done all ſhe could to inſpire reſolution into the garriſon and her huſband, did not chuſe to ſurvive the loſs of her principality, and died either of famine or grief. "And here in one article, is an abſtract of the greateſt diſgrace that France has ſuffered from foreigners in the memory of man." So ſpeaks D'Aubigné, in concluding the 9th chap. l. 4. tom. 3. of his hiſtory, in which he has collected the taking of Catelot, la Capelle, Ardres, Cambray, Calais, and the defeat at Dourlens. Balagny tells a Spaniſh officer, who ſeemed ſurpriſed at ſeeing him take his miſtreſs along with him, and in the ſame boat, that love ſoftened all the croſs accidents of fortune: "Right," replied the Spaniard, "and eſpecially at preſent, as you will have leſs to do than you have had before." P. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 219.

were

were not sufficient to storm the camp of the besiegers, took the only course that now remained which was to throw himself into the place, at the head of a considerable reinforcement. Twice he embarked with this design, but a contrary wind forced him back again to land. While he despaired of accomplishing his enterprise, Matelet, governor of Foix, came to him, and offered to attempt a third time to enter Calais, promising him, that, if he would give him four or five hundred gentlemen, he would so manage, either by sea or land, that he would open himself a passage. The King, praising his resolution, gave him the escort he demanded; with which Matelet succeeded in his design, and entered Calais, after having surmounted a thousand obstacles *. But the glory of this brave action was soon obliterated, when it appeared that he had only joined the garrison to be infected with their fears, and to consent to a capitulation: and the King had the mortification to march to Calais, only to see it surrendered before his eyes.

If it be demanded where, during this time, were all those French noblemen and officers who were so forward in advising the war; and why they suffered the King to bear the whole burden of it, and suffer repeated losses? It must be owned, to the

* Historians do not agree as to this action. Some, as De Thou and D'Aubigné, by saying nothing at all of it, seem to call it in question: others ascribe it to the Sieur de Campagnole, the younger, Davila and our memoirs, to Matelet, governor of Foix. Queen Elizabeth offered to defend Calais against the Spaniards, upon condition that the place were put into the hands of the English. Sancy, who was then ambassador at London, made answer to the Queen, That the King, his master, would rather have it in the hands of the Spaniards than in those of the English: and Henry IV. said himself, "If he "were to be bit, he had rather it was by a lion than a lioness:" and this was the reason that Queen Elisabeth afterwards refused to besiege that town, while Henry IV. lay before that of Amiens, though they offered then to put it into her hands by way of security. Matthieu, ibid. p. 223.

diſhonour of the French name, that they expected to draw advantages to themſelves by the misfortunes their imprudence occaſioned, and their negligence augmented; and formed, in the mean time, projects more fatal to the King's authority than the bloodieſt foreign war. Theſe projects I ſhall mention immediately.

The King, equally ſuperior to good and bad fortune, comforted thoſe that were driven out of Calais, provided for the ſecurity of Boulogne, Abbeville, Montreuil, Monthulin *, and other towns and caſtles, and marched towards St. Quintin, fearing leſt the enemies, who were not far from thoſe quarters, ſhould ſurpriſe ſome of the nobles and general officers, who came thither ſeparately. They choſe this opportunity for the execution of a deſign which they had formed, before they left Paris. The Duke of Montpenſier was the perſon whom they charged with this commiſſion, not becauſe he was more diſſaffected than the reſt, but becauſe his temper was the moſt condeſcending, and his underſtanding the weakeſt. He accoſted the King at Saint-Quintin; and in the name of the principal French nobility, propoſed to him, as the only means of ſubduing his enemies, to reſign to the governors of provinces the property of their governments, with an hereditary right to them, requiring nothing of them but their allegiance.

It is not eaſy to comprehend, how a propoſal which had ſo manifeſt a tendency to throw France into a ſtate of anarchy, that in its earlier ages had filled it with blood and horror, could proceed from the mouth of a Frenchman, a prince, and what is more, a prince of the royal blood. Henry, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the prodigious inſolence of this affront offered to the royal dignity, could not at firſt utter a word. The Duke of Montpenſier

* Cities and forts in Picardy.

continuing

continuing a ſpeech which had been ſtudied long before, endeavoured to prove to his Majeſty, that while theſe governors, or rather thoſe little princes, obliged themſelves to maintain troops always ready for his ſervice, he would be never again reduced to ſuch a ſituation as he was in at preſent, to appear before his enemies without ſoldiers to oppoſe them. The King, agitated with various paſſions, diſcovered none to the Duke but compaſſion, at ſeeing him in a character ſo contemptible and unworthy. He ſtopped him from proceeding farther, by telling him, without the leaſt reſentment, that he had already heard too much; and that he was convinced thoſe French nobles had taken advantage of the eaſineſs of his temper, to make him the bearer of a propoſal, the whole meanneſs of which he was not ſenſible of, he who was a prince of the blood, and nearer the crown than himſelf had formerly been. The King added much more to the ſame purpoſe, with equal calmneſs, and was ſo far from being apprehenſive, that he ſhould be reduced to yield to ſuch a propoſition, and ſo determined to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, if poſſible, rather than bring ſuch a load of infamy upon the royal dignity, that he had not even the thought of entering into any diſcuſſion of this project, or of uttering a ſingle word in anſwer to it *.

The Duke of Montpenſier became ſenſible of his fault, by the air and tone with which his Majeſty ſpoke to him; he bluſhed, and aſked pardon for it, and intreated the King never to remember that he had been capable of thus degrading himſelf from his rank. The King, after having ſhewn the Duke the whole extent of his fault, directed him how, in ſome meaſure, to repair it, with thoſe who had prevailed upon him to commit it; and aſſured

* "We are all gentlemen," ſaid Henry IV. ſometimes, before the princes of the blood.

him, that he, for his own part, would forget it entirely, and ſtill regard him as a kinſman.

The Duke of Montpenſier agreed to take the firſt opportunity that offered, when the authors of that inſolent propoſal brought it again on the carpet, to declare, that he had reflected well upon the commiſſion they had given him; that they might ſend their propoſal by any other perſon, ſince he abſolutely diſapproved of it; and if ever he was to mention it to his Majeſty, it ſhould be with a deſign to diſſuade him from it; and that they might depend upon his uſing his utmoſt endeavours to hinder its taking effect. He performed this taſk ſo exactly, and with an air ſo natural, that he wholly diſconcerted all thoſe noblemen, and left them no inclination to make any future attempts on his fidelity.

It was therefore to reduce the King to the neceſſity of making them his equals, that the princes and governors of provinces in France ſo ill performed their promiſe of aſſiſting him with troops. The Duke of Bouillon was one of thoſe who ſold his ſervices the deareſt. His Majeſty, not doubting but he had a part in the plot, was willing to have a proof of it from the Duke's perplexity, without letting him know that he was informed of it by other means. Bouillon did not want art and eloquence enough to conceal whatever he deſigned ſhould not be known; but, beſides that Henry poſſeſſed in no leſs degree the art of penetrating into the thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed, the preſence of a ſovereign is of itſelf ſufficient to abaſh a man conſcious of any ſecret guilt. The King began by convincing himſelf that the Duke of Montpenſier had not betrayed their late diſcourſe to the Duke of Bouillon. After which he introduced the defeat of Dourlens, by aſking him plainly, and with a kind of confidence, how it happened that he had been diſappointed in thoſe certain

tain correſpondencies which, as he ſaid, he carried on in Liege, Namur, and many other places in Luxembourg, and Hainault, upon which, as he knew, the war had been undertaken?

Bouillon, embarraſſed by the queſtion, and that air of ſimplicity with which it was propoſed, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer concerning his pretended correſpondencies, fell into long incoherent ſpeeches, which betrayed him more effectually, than the moſt ſincere confeſſion could have done. He accuſed all the world; the Duke of Nevers, who, he ſaid, had corrupted his officers, and obſtructed his levies; the Engliſh for not making the promiſed diverſion; the Dutch for taking advantage of this conjuncture to increaſe their power on the ſide of Over-Iſſel and Frieſland Upon which the Duke of Bouillon, who ſought only to turn the converſation ſtill more from the firſt ſubject, told the King, that the true cauſe of the misfortune which had lately happened, was, that his Majeſty had no perſon of weight or confidence, and on whom he could rely, at the court of London, to haſten the ſupplies that had been promiſed there; and, at the ſame time, offered himſelf for this embaſſy, and even ſolicited it earneſtly. The King being of opinion, that it would anſwer no purpoſe to preſs the Duke any fu ther upon this fault, ceaſed to mention it; and reflecting, that he ſhould not loſe much by his abſence conſented at laſt to the embaſſy to England. Accordingly, his commiſſion was expedited, and the Duke of Bouillon, a few days after, ſet out for that kingdom.

It was from his Majeſty himſelf that I had the particulars of this converſation with the Duke of Bouillon, as likewiſe that with the Duke of Montpenſier before mentioned.

The King had no ſooner quitted Bouillon, than reflecting that the Duke, inſtead of having any deſign to ſerve him uſefully at the court of London, had

had poſſibly only ſolicited that employment to give bad impreſſions there of his conduct, or at leaſt to labour only for his own intereſt, he ſent Jaquinot for me early in the morning, to communicate his fears to me. I kneeled on a cuſhion at his bedſide, and his Majeſty aſked me immediately what was ſaid, and what I, in particular, thought of the long converſation he had juſt held with the Duke of Bouillon? I replied, that every one had his own conjectures; and that probably the affair of Ham and Dourlens, and the propoſal made by the Duke of Montpenſier, made up the greateſt part of it. The King told me that I was miſtaken; that he was too well acquainted with the Duke of Bouillon's diſpoſition, to doubt that any reproaches upon thoſe occaſions, inſtead of correcting, would only ſerve to throw him into an open revolt. His Majeſty afterwards, repeating exactly all that has been related concerning the embaſſy to England, propoſed to me to accompany the Duke of Bouillon thither, that I might have an eye upon his behaviour.

In courts every thing is brought about by artifice. The King, after his converſation with the Duke of Bouillon, telling his council for the finances, that he had ſent the Duke to England, theſe gentlemen, after conferring together, found nothing ſo fit to ſatisfy their hatred of me, as to perſuade the King to join me with the Duke of Bouillon. My abilities for negotiations were praiſed, an honour which they were reſolved to deprive me of, when they had once ſucceeded in removing me from the King, who, not penetrating into their views, approved of the propoſal: but I did not ſo eaſily fall into the ſnare: I ſhewed his Majeſty the true motive of theſe gentlemens feigned generoſity with regard to me. From the moment that the Duke of Bouillon diſcovered that I watched his conduct, and diſconcerted his projects, he would not

not fail to break with me; and such a genius as his, when actuated by malice, would not fail to suggest to him the means of throwing upon me the blame of all the faults he committed, and all the good he neglected to do. My enemies knew this as well as I; his Majesty was convinced by my reasons, and pressed me no further.

The gentlemen of the council did not stop here: when they came again to the King, they were the first to confess, that it was with reluctance they joined me to the Duke of Bouillon; but since the Duke was to stay but a short time at London, they had pitched upon me to take his place with the same title and equal honours. All was alike to them, provided they could get rid of me. The King was again influenced by their opinions, and some days after declared his intention to me, ordering me to make preparations immediately for this voyage; to provide myself with money; and to dispose my wife to follow me, if I chose to have her with me; which, however, he did not think necessary, since I should not, he said, be absent above seven or eight months at the utmost. The King instantly perceiving my reluctance, accompanied this order with the most obliging expressions his imagination could suggest; he told me, that the present perplexed situation of his affairs hindering him from giving me the sole direction of the finances, he should reproach himself for exposing to the dangers of a long and furious siege, the only man in his kingdom whom he thought worthy to fill that important station. His Majesty had just then declared himself publicly concerning the siege of La-Fere.

While the King was speaking, I was struck with astonishment at the obstinate persecution of my enemies, and the depth of their malice. Under the appearance of a title of honour, vain in itself, and fatal in its consequences, they took away, and perhaps

haps for ever, all opportunities of advancing me: For who in my abſence would be ſolicitous for my intereſt? Who would hinder them from prolonging my ſtay out of the kingdom, till, affairs having taken a fixed and durable ſtate in France, there would be nothing left for a man who, by ſo long an abſence, would be afterwards regarded as a ſtranger. Theſe reflections kept me firm in my purpoſe. I intreated the King not to force me to a journey for which I felt an invincible repugnance; and I had the good fortune to find, that Henry was of himſelf diſpoſed to believe, that I ſhould be of more uſe to him at Paris than London, during the ſiege he was going to undertake: he therefore ſent me thither to facilitate his ſupplies of money, and the diſpatch of whatever was neceſſary towards carrying on the ſiege, to receive his orders there, make one in his council, and direct its reſolutions. Had the choice of my revenge been in my own power, I could not have fixed upon any other more effectual.

BOOK VIII.

THE motive which had determined the King to undertake ſo difficult a ſiege as that of La-Fere, was, that, his enemies having after their ſucceſs ſeparated their troops, he would not ſuffer his own, who had at leaſt aſſembled, to remain idle, and becauſe it was of importance to ſecure Picardy, already ſhaken by ſo many repeated loſſes. Had I the liberty of diſpoſing of myſelf as I pleaſed, I ſhould have choſen to have continued with the King during this ſiege, whoſe too great ſolicitude for my ſafety I could by no means approve: but I durſt not refuſe the commiſſion

which would detain me in Paris; and his Majesty, to render this order less displeasing, assured me, that nothing considerable would for a long time be done before La-Fere; and that some time or other, he would permit me to make a journey thither. In reality I did so several times; but I had no sooner arrived, than the necessity of providing for the subsistence of his troops, obliged me to return again immediately. I comforted myself, however, with the thought, that through my diligence the army being supplied with every thing it had occasion for, I might flatter myself with having, in some measure, contributed to the success of this siege, which lasted six months, and was the longest in which Henry was ever engaged. This place, besides its advantageous fortifications, had a very numerous garrison, composed of select soldiers, and commanded by two excellent officers, the one a Frenchman, high-steward of Montelimart; and the other a Spaniard, named Osorio.

Beringhen, at the persuasions of an engineer, who was his friend and kinsman, and had come expressly for that purpose from Flanders, where he lived, took it into his head, that it was possible to lay all La-Fere under water; and upon the assurances of his friend, was so confident of success, that the King, though contrary to his own judgement, suffered him to make the attempt; it would indeed have shortened the siege; but it is to be observed, that almost all projects of this kind are liable to disappointment: the slightest mistake is sufficient to ruin them, and it seldom happens but some mistake is made. The project of turning the course of the Tesin formerly cost Francis I. the loss of a battle, together with that of his liberty. In one of these journies I made to the camp, I found this proposal upon the carpet. I looked upon the execution of it to be impossible,

and I combated it with all my force: but the engineer wanted not plauſible reaſons for his opinion. It was, as he ſaid, an attempt that would coſt but little time or trouble; all they had to do was to raiſe a cauſey; this they performed; and the water deſtroying their work two or three times, they renewed it as often; at laſt it became proof againſt the water, but the river did not riſe to the height they expected; it is true, indeed, that it wanted only ſix feet, but that was ſufficient to force them to abandon the work *, after having conſumed in it a great deal of time and money.

The King falling ſick at Traverſy, where his head-quarters were, the ſiege of La Fere ſuffered a ſtill longer delay As ſoon as the news was brought me, I flew to him, and never left him till he was reſtored to perfect health. His ſickneſs was conſiderable enough to make me apprehend for France the greateſt loſs it could poſſibly ſuſtain. The Governor of La-Fere finding himſelf in want of every thing that could enable him to told out a longer time, ſurrendered the place to the King, who cauſed it to be repaired; and at the intreaty of Madam de Lincourt, he appointed her ſon Cæſar to be governor of it, Manicamp, a kinſman of this lady, performing all the functions of that office, in quantity of deputy-governor.

His Majeſty marching afterwards to the frontiers of Artois, took the caſtle of Imbercourt by aſſault; and thought to have done the ſame, by ſurpriſe, with the city of Arras. Marechal Biron † was the

* D'Aubigny does not ſpeak of it ſo contemptibly. ch. 12. Ibid. "The cauſey, (ſays he,) having made the river Oiſe flow back "within La Fere, it ſpoiled all the magazines they had in the lower "parts and cellars of the town. It was a large machine, above a "quarter of a league in length. Such an undertaking ſhews, that "neither the King nor the kingdom was diſpirited under their preſ- "ſures and diſadvantages."

† Biron, in his turn, loudly exclaimed againſt the King's avarice.

cauſe

cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of this laſt enterprize, by not providing himſelf with a ſufficient quantity of petards; the three firſt they applied played tolerably well, but the fourth being thrown, without effect, into the ditch, with the perſon that directed it, ſeveral of our men were killed and wounded by it. It was, indeed, a mortifying thought, that a conqueſt of ſuch importance, which would have ſecured Amiens from the misfortune which ſoon after happened to it, ſhould be loſt for want of a few petards more. Biron, to avoid the reproaches he had reaſon to expect, got out of the way, and went to diſcharge his rage upon the country about Bapaume, where he made a horrible devaſtation.

The ill ſucceſs of the attempt upon Arras was ſufficiently compenſated by many favourable events that happened at the end of the preceding year and beginning of this, which I ſhall paſs over ſlightly as uſual; theſe were, the reduction of Toulouſe *, the proſperity of the King's arms in Provence, and the reunion of the chiefs of the league in the King's party. Joyeuſe †, who had quitted the habit of a monk, to aſſume that of a ſoldier, and paid himſelf with uſury for the mortifications of a cloiſter, made a treaty with the King about that time. The Duke of Nemours followed his example; but juſt as it was upon the point of being concluded, he died ‡ with vexation, as ſome believe, for the bad ſucceſs of ſo many goodly projects. Saint-Sorlin, his brother, continued the treaty for himſelf. Moreover the

* As to theſe facts, conſult the hiſtories before mentioned for the years 1595 and 1596.

† He again entered himſelf among the capuchins, and died there under the name of Father Ange.

‡ "He voided, by his mouth and pores, every drop of blood in his "body." Perefix, Ibid. Cayet gives a very moving deſcription of it, Ibid. p. 519.

death of the Duke of Nevers * delivered the King from a ſervant equally troubleſome and uſeleſs. Laſtly, the Duke of Maïenne, now abſolutely diſguſted with the treachery of the Spaniards, began to think ſeriouſly upon means of reſtoring himſelf to the good graces of the King.

The King thought it of ſuch importance to make himſelf maſter of Arras, that after having in vain attempted to ſurpriſe it, he reſolved to beſiege it in form. I was, I imagine, the only perſon to whom he communicated this deſign; ſecrecy was of ſuch conſequence on this great occaſion, that he durſt not truſt any one with the care of making obſervations upon the place; and therefore undertook that taſk himſelf. I had continued the whole winter at Paris, employed in his Majeſty's ſervice, and ſometimes made little excurſions to Moret, in

* Louis de Gonzague died of a dyſentery at Neſſe in 1595, aged fifty-ſix: of chagrin, ſay others, becauſe that when he talked with Henry IV. adviſing him with regard to Calais, this Prince made anſwer, "How can you adviſe me on this head? you who have never been nigher that town than ſeven leagues." Though M. de Thou, l. 113. and Brantome, tom. 3. p. 259. very much extol him, the charge which the Duke de Sully brings againſt him, of having been always a very expenſive ſervant to his maſter, may be eaſily made out, even from this General's own letters to Henry IV. of which we have a collection in de Nevers's Memoirs, tom. 2. p. 207. 376. "If your Majeſty, (ſays he to him in one of his letters,) cannot or will not come this length, I ſhall remove ſo far, that there will be no grounds to expect any ſuccours from me. In truth, Sire, you do not make me returns ſuitable to the manner in which I ſerve you: and it appears to all the world that you do not value me much.——I never was treated in the manner you treat me by the kings your predeceſſors: from them I received many favours, whereby I was obliged to ſerve them implicitly, and I am yet to receive the firſt favour from your Majeſty. If fatal and ruinous commiſſions be not the favours I receive from you, I will be ſo free as to tell you, that I have received no other ſince you were pleaſed to order me into theſe parts." &c. p. 348. And there are a great many more letters in the ſame ſtrain. It is from theſe the Duke of Sully, to whom Henry IV. communicated all his cabinet ſecrets, formed a judgement as to the diſpoſitions of the Duke de Nevers, and not from thoſe he writ to ſeveral other perſons, which ſhew great attachment and zeal for the King's perſon.

which

which I took great pleaſure. One day, when I was buſy in overſeeing my workmen, who were levelling the high grounds about two thouſand paces from my houſe, to bring thither two rivulets which form thoſe two ſheets of water which are at preſent near the great alley, a courier from Madam de Liancourt arrived, who brought me a letter from this lady, and another from his Majeſty, in which he informed me of his deſigns upon Arras, and the methods by which he hoped to ſucceed. I had never ſeen this prince in ſo great a rage as by this letter he appeared to be againſt the "impoſitions aud rogueries (theſe were his "words) of eight gluttons;" who were given him, he ſaid, inſtead of one that he had before: "Thoſe "raſcals, (added he,) with that prodigious num-"ber of intendants, who have brought in all "their male and female goſſips, feaſt together, "and have conſumed above a hundred thouſand "crowns, a ſum large enough to drive all the "Spaniards out of France." This was, indeed, exactly true, which I ſhall make ſufficienly manifeſt when I enter into an account of the finances; at preſent I ſhall only relate two or three circumſtances.

The council of the finances ſuppoſed, that in order to furniſh the ſupplies for the ſiege of La-Fere, they ſhould be called upon to clear their accounts: in this, however, they were miſtaken, the King having put the ſuperintendency of the ſiege wholly into my hands. Theſe ſupplies Deſcures, La-Corbiniere, and ſome other contractors, with whom the financers lived in ſuch intelligence, that they made uſe occaſionally of their names, without admiting them to more than very ſmall ſhares, were engaged to procure. They then treated, under theſe borrowed names, with tradeſmen and purveyors, who commonly ſerved them at the low-

eſt

eſt prices, and contrived to charge to the King double or triple the real expence *.

The following fact I had from the King himſelf. Very conſiderable arrears were due from the royal treaſury to the Swiſs ſoldiers, German horſe, and other foreigners in the French pay. The council ſuborned a man, named Otoplote, who gave the receivers deputed by theſe foreigners to underſtand, that they muſt never expect to be paid, unleſs they conſented to reduce their demands to ſuch a moderate ſum as could be given them, without draining the exchequer. The reduction was agreed to; but the gentlemen of the council charged the whole ſum to the King's account, and by this means robbed his Majeſty, or rather the lawful creditors, of the overplus.

To this many other frauds of the ſame kind may be added. Theſe gentlemen revelled in luxury, while the King and his houſhold wanted neceſſaries. A few days after that, on which his Majeſty wrote to me, he ſent to inform them that he had occaſion for eight hundred thouſand crowns, for an enterprize of importance (the ſiege of Arras;) he intreated, he conjured them to let him have this ſum, but in vain; all the anſwer he could get was, that ſo far from being able to furniſh him with what he demanded, they knew not how to ſupply the expences of his houſhold. It is, indeed, curious to ſee how this houſhold was ſupported. "I "am, (ſays this amiable and worthy prince, in "a letter to me,) very near my enemies, and hard-"ly a horſe to carry me into the battle, nor a "complete ſuit of armour to put on; my ſhirts "are all ragged, my doublets † out at elbows, my "kettle

* This has been too much the caſe with Britain in the wars of 1743 and 1755.

† "I have ſeen upon him, (ſays Le Grain, l. 8.) a coat of plain "white cloth, that was very much ſoiled by his breaſt-plate, and "torn

" kettle is ſeldom on the fire, and theſe two laſt " days I have ſhift for a dinner, my purveyors " having informed me, that they have no longer " wherewithal to furniſh my table." That of the gentlemen of the council were better provided, Henry, in his letter, deplored theſe monſtrous abuſes, leſs on his own account than on his people's whom he ſaid he looked upon as his children, ſince heaven had given him no others, and propoſed to me the deſign of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom, to conſider of a remedy for all theſe abuſes.

I obeyed the order the King gave me to burn his letter, but not till I had taken a copy of it; and as the reaſons for keeping it ſecret now no longer ſubſiſt, I think it my duty to publiſh the contents, as a proof of the wiſdom and goodneſs of this Prince. His Majeſty concluded his letter with ordering me to come to him in Picardy, and to conduct his miſtreſs thither. We were the only perſons to whom he could diſcloſe his thoughts with freedom. The letter from Madam de Liancourt was very ſhort; in it ſhe informed me, that ſhe would ſet out the Tueſday following, in order to reach Maubuiſſon on Wedneſday, where ſhe had a ſiſter, who was abbeſs, and that ſhe would wait for me till that time at Paris.

I arrived at Corbeil on Saturday evening, intending to paſs part of Sunday, and all Monday, at Paris, having ſome purchaſes to make for the palace. Juſt as I entered the ſtreet de la Coutelliere, I met a meſſenger from Madam de Liancourt, who acquainted me, that that lady having received freſh letters from the King, and alſo an account that her ſiſter, the Abbeſs of Maubuiſſon, was ill, ſhe had determined to ſet out before the

" torn in the ſleeves; as alſo ſtockings that were much worn and " holed through on the ſword-ſide.

day

day appointed, and that I might join her at Pontoiſe. I ſuſpected this lady had an intention to make her court to the King at the expence of my dilatorineſs; I therefore altered my reſolution, and told my people, that I would go that ſame night to Maubuiſſon, without ſtopping at Paris, but only while I refreſhed myſelf, and baited my horſes, which I did at the firſt inn I came to, whoſe ſign was the three pigeons. The mention of this inn recals to my remembrance a comical adventure which happened to me there.

Going up ſtairs without any attendants, into a very large chamber, I there found a man walking about it very faſt, and ſo abſorbed in thought, that he neither ſaluted me, nor, as I imagine, perceived any entrance. Looking at him with more attention, every thing in his perſon, his manner, dreſs, and phyſiognomy appeared to me very uncommon; his body was long and lank, his viſage emaciated and ſhrivelled, his beard thin and forked; had a large hat on his head which covered his face, a cloak buttoned cloſe at the collar, boots of an enormous ſize, a ſword that trailed on the ground, and in his hand a large double bag, like thoſe that are tied to ſaddle bows. I aſked him, pretty loud, if he lodged in that chamber, and why he ſeemed in ſuch profound contemplation? My man, diſdaining the queſtion, without ſaluting, or even deigning to look at me, anſwered me bluntly, that he was in his own chamber, and that he was thinking of his own affairs, as I might do of mine. Although I was a little ſurpriſed at his impertinence, I nevertheleſs deſired him very civilly to permit me to dine in that chamber; a propoſal which he received grumbling, and was followed by a refuſal ſtill leſs polite. That moment three of my gentlemen, my pages, and ſome footmen, entering the room, my brutal companion thought fit to ſoften his

looks and words, pulled off his hat, and offered me every thing in his power: then ſuddenly, eying me with a fixed look, aſked me, with a wild air, where I was going? I told him to meet the King: "What, Sir," replied he, "has the King ſent for "you? Pray tell me on what day and hour you "received his letters, and alſo at what hour you "ſet out."

It was not difficult to diſcover an aſtrologer by theſe queſtions, which he aſked me with an invincible gravity. I was further obliged to tell him my age, and to allow him to look into my hands.

After all theſe ceremonials were over, "Sir," ſaid he with an air of ſurpriſe and reſpect, "I will "reſign my chamber to you very willingly, and "before it be long, many more perſons will quit "their places to you with more regret than I do "mine." The more I pretended to be aſtoniſhed at his great abilities, the more he endeavoured to give me proofs of them; he promiſed me riches, honours, and power (aſtrologers are ſeldom niggards) and added, that if I would inform him of the hour of my birth, he would tell me all that had, or ever would happen to me: but without deſiring to know my name, or telling me his, he thought proper, after theſe words, to leave me precipitately, excuſing himſelf for not ſtaying longer with me, upon the neceſſity he was under to carry ſome papers immediately to his advocate and procur tor. I made no efforts to detain him: but it was not the ſame with my people, whom I perceived to be ſeized with fear and reſpect at every word this madman uttered. I diverted my wife with an account of this little adventure in the firſt letter I wrote to her.

In the evening I arrived at Maubuiſſon, which is a ſort of ſuburb to Pontoiſe: there I met Madam de Liancourt, with whom I took the road next day to Clermont. I rode about ſeven or

eight hundred paces before the litter in which this lady was, and which was followed at ſome diſtance by a great unweildy coach that carried her women; before and behind this coach marched ſeveral mules loaded with baggage. About a league from Clermont, where the road was very narrow, a ſteep hill on one ſide, and a hanging valley on the other, leaving only room enough for two carriages to go a breaſt; the coachman alighting upon ſome occaſion or other, one of the mules paſſing near the ſide of the coach, after it ſtopped, by its neighing, and the ſound of its bells, ſo terrified the horſes, which unfortunately happened to be young and ſkittiſh, that, taking the bit between their teeth, they drew the coach along with ſuch rapidity, that meeting with two other mules, they rode them down. The women within, ſeeing a thouſand abyſſes opened under their feet, apprehended their danger, and ſent forth moſt doleful cries. In vain did the coachman and muleteers call, bawl, and ſtrain; the horſes could not be ſtopped. They were already within fifty paces of the litter, when Madam de Liancourt, alarmed by the noiſe, looked out at the coach door. She gave a frightful ſhriek upon ſeeing no poſſibility of preventing her litter from being overturned. I alſo turned back, and trembling at the danger in which I ſaw this lady and her retinue, without being able to aſſiſt them on account of the diſtance I was at, "Ah! friend," ſaid I to La-Font, "the women will be daſhed in pieces, what "will become of us? and what will the King ſay?" While I was thus ſpeaking, I puſhed my horſe forward with all my ſtrength; but this was needleſs, and I ſhould have come too late.

By one of thoſe lucky chances, which have in them ſomething miraculous, when the danger was greateſt, the axle-tree of the little wheels coming out of the nave by a violent ſhock which broke

broke the pegs, the two wheels fell on each ſide, and the coach to the ground, and there ſtopped; one of the hindmoſt horſes was thrown down by the ſhock, and kept in the other; the fore horſes broke their traces, and paſſed ſo cloſe to the litter, which was already at the extremity of the precipice, that it is plain, if they had drawn the coach along with it, it would have been thrown over it. I ſtopped them, and gave them to my domeſtics to hold; after which I flew to relieve Madam de Liancourt, who was half dead with fright. I went next to the coach, and aſſiſted the women to get out of it: they were for having the coachman hanged, and I was complaiſant enough to cane him ſoundly. At length their terrors being entirely diſſipated, and the carriage refitted, we reſumed our journey; and till we arrived at Clermont, I continued to ride cloſe to Madam de Liancourt's litter.

The King had ſet out for this place to meet his miſtreſs, and arrived there a quarter of an hour after us. I did not fail to inform him immediately of what had happened; and while I was relating this adventure, I obſerved him attentively, and ſaw him turn pale and tremble. By theſe emotions, which I never perceived in him in the greateſt dangers, it was eaſy to judge of the violence of his paſſion for this lady.

The firſt moments were given to tenderneſs; after which the King conſulted with me concerning the ſtate of his affairs. That which was of moſt conſequence at preſent, was the advice he had juſt received, by a letter from Rouen, that the Duke of Montpenſier, engaged more ſtrictly than ever with the factious courtiers, had formed a very dangerous deſign againſt his royal perſon (this deſign was not explained); and that he was endeavouring by all ſorts of methods, to gain himſelf dependents. The King was ſo much the

more afflicted at this news, as he really loved the Duke of Montpenſier; and ſince policy hindered him from marrying his ſiſter to the Count of Soiſſons, or any of the princes of Lorrain, he was accuſtomed to look upon this Prince as his future brother-in-law. He inſiſted that all other buſineſs being poſtponed for this, I ſhould go immediately to Rouen, and there either prevail upon the Duke of Montpenſier to return to his duty, or diſconcert all his intrigues.

I ſtaid ſix days at Rouen, and during that time I had ſufficient reaſon to be convinced that the imputations againſt this Prince were abſolutely falſe, and an artifice of thoſe who ſought to throw the government into confuſion. The Duke of Montpenſier, whoſe ſentiments were very different from thoſe of which he was accuſed, ſuffered nothing to appear either in his actions or diſcourſe, but what proved his ſtrict attatchment to the King. Thoſe perſons with whom he had had the cloſeſt connections, durſt not in his preſence avow any principle contrary to his, and deſpaired of ever gaining him. One day when he did me the honour to invite me to dine with him, he talked to me of his reſolution to continue inviolable in his duty to the King, with a candour and freedom which thoſe who know him are ſenſible he would not have been capable of, had he been conſcious of any ſecret guilt; and although he did not ſeek to juſtify himſelf, yet innocence carries along with it certain ſilent proofs, which can hardly be miſtaken. He embraced me ſeveral times as a man who was dear to him by being faithfully devoted to the King; and on that account promiſed me his friendſhip, of which I have ſince had many inſtances. I mentioned to him his marriage with the Princeſs Catharine, as an affair in which the King was as ſollicitous for his ſucceſs as he himſelf could be. He confeſſed to me that he had never

ver desired any thing with so much ardour as the possession of this princess, but that he durst not flatter himself with a hope of obtaining her, since he had not qualities, he said, capable of gaining her heart, or of subduing the ascendant the Count of Soissons had over him. I remained entirely satisfied with the Duke of Montpensier's sentiments, and resolved to give a good account of them to the King. The remainder of the time I staid at Rouen I employed in renewing my former friendships with several persons, among whom were the first President De Boquemare, Messieurs De Lanquetot, De Gremonville, De Bourgtheroulde, De Berniere, all members of the parliament; the Abbots De Tiron, and Martinbault; the Sieurs De Motteville, Des Hameaux, De Mesnil, Captain of the Old Palace; De La Haulle, De Menencourt, Du Mesnil basil, and others, by whom I was treated and whom I treated in my turn. I lodged with La Pile, one of my particular friends.

I found the King still at Amiens *, where a few days after arrived deputies from the principal cities of Provence and Languedoc, whose compliments and harangues his Majesty received with his usual goodness. The deputy from Marseilles was heard with most pleasure, as he spoke for a city so ancient, and at all times so faithful to its sovereigns.

The King being not only undeceived by my report of the Duke of Montpensier, but also more than ever convinced of his affection, resolved to make one effort more in his favour: and unfortunately I was the person whom he fixed upon to

* The deputies of the town of Amiens speaking to him, in their address, of Henry III.'s goodness; "Yes" says he to them, he was "a good prince, but he was afraid of you; and for my part I neither fear nor love you." Le Grain, Decade d'Henry le Grand, l. x.

discharge

diſcharge this new commiſſion. Having ſent for me one night to his bedſide, he told me that, under a pretence of viſiting the Princeſs Catharine, I muſt go and endeavour to prevail upon her to give the Duke of Montpenſier that place in her heart which the Count of Soiſſons*, notwithſtanding the ſacrifice of the marriage-contract, ſtill poſſeſſed. After what had happened to me at Chartres upon this occaſion, I thought it preſumptuous to embark in an affair in which it was impoſſible to ſucceed. I conjured the King not to expoſe me, by this new attempt, to the eternal hatred of this Princeſs and the Count. My intreaties, preſſing as they were, had no effect: he anſwered me only with the proverb, "A good maſter, a "bold ſervant;" and obedience was the only choice left me.

My laſt reſource was to demand my commiſſion in writing, that it might ſecure me againſt the fate of many courtiers, who have been diſgraced for acting with a blind obedience to their maſter, againſt perſons of that rank; and, beſides a letter of compliment to the Princeſs, I required a ſecond, in which he ſhould tell the motives of my journey, the nature of his orders, and the manner, and arguments by which he deſired I ſhould inforce them. When I made this propoſal, the King, always tenacious of what concerned his honour, replied, that his greateſt enemies never demanded ſtronger ſecurity than his word. I anſwered, by aſſuring him, that I would never make uſe of it but in caſes of extremity; and that if the Princeſs ſhould appear diſpoſed to comply with his deſires, provided I could convince her, that I acted ſolely by his authority, this writing would then be neceſ-

* She uſed to ſay to ſuch as ſpoke to her by the King's order, "Above all things, I will have my Court." Matthieu, tom. 2 l. 2. p. 628.

ſary.

ſary. The King yielded to this laſt argument; and, being furniſhed with this authentic writing, I ſet out for Fountainebleau, where the Princeſs then was, extremely perplexed with the commiſſion I had undertaken.

I ſtaid only one day at Paris, from whence I went to the Princeſs, who expected me with ſome impatience, the King having informed her ſome days before by Loménie of my intended journey, without explaining the occaſion of it. She had flattered herſelf (for love, if it fears all, hopes all likewiſe) that I might poſſibly be come to make the Count of Soiſſons happy; and this thought made me happy alſo, as long as it laſted, which was the two firſt days; for thoſe I thought neceſſary to give to civility and compliments. She altered her behaviour on the third, when ſhe found that I only introduced the ſubject of her love with no intention, but to declare to her, that the Count of Soiſſons had, by his imprudent conduct, incenſed the King to ſuch a degree, that ſhe ought no longer to think of making him her huſband: for I judged it proper to begin by removing one lover, before I endeavoured to introduce another.

Although in ſpeaking of the Count de Soiſſons, I made uſe of the gentleſt terms that my imagination could ſuggeſt, he had in the Princeſs ſo zealous an advocate, that her anſwer was a ſeries of the harſheſt epithets, and menaces to deprive me of the King's favour. Aſtoniſhed at a rage ſo ſudden and violent, I thought of nothing but appeaſing her, otherwiſe my commiſſion would have that moment been at an end. I therefore intreated her to hear me, and began a tedious ſpeech, of which I knew not myſelf the end. And firſt I introduced a long and eloquent proteſtation of my reſpect, attachment, and earneſt deſire to ſerve her; during which I racked my imagination, in vain, to furniſh me with the means of calming her mind,

mind, since what it was most necessary she should hear, namely, the Count of Soissons insolent behaviour to the King, was precisely what would most readily work her into a passion. I ventured, however, to break through this difficulty, and conjured her to reflect seriously whether this Prince had, by his whole conduct, deserved that the King should endeavour to make him happy. It was the hope only that a discourse, whose beginning was so disagreeable, would end in a manner favourable to her passion, that obliged the Princess to give any attention to me; which I judged by those emotions of anger and disdain which alternately appeared in the flushing and paleness of her face.

I continued to lay before her, with all the moderation imaginable, the many causes of dissatisfaction which the Count had given the King, particularly his behaviour in Burgundy, certainly inexcusable even in the eyes of a mistress I used, however, the precaution to repeat it frequently that, for my own part, I believed the Count to be very distant from those sentiments which, from his conduct, might be ascribed to him: I dwelt upon the consequences it must unavoidably have, at a time when a process was actually commenced against the Princess of Condé, by which the Prince her son, still a Huguenot, lived uncertain of his state, in a kind of exile at Rochelle. This affair being of the number of those in which justice alone was not sufficient, the friends of the young Prince would have found it difficult to have scattered those accusations against the mother, and secured to the son his rank of first Prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown, if the King by suppressing the records and evidence of the process, as he did at last, had not interested himself in the justification of the one, and in the defence of the other. I made the Princess sensible, that the Count was master of his own fate,

but that he made so bad an use of the King's favourable dispositions towards him, that he would infallibly oblige him to engage in the interests of his rival. In short, I imagine, I said enough to have made any other think the Prince highly culpable.

The Princess, who, during this discourse, had fallen into a reverie, occasioned more by vexation than prudent reflections, interrupted me here, to hasten to that conclusion of which at first I had given her a favourable prospect, and which seemed more remote in proportion as I lengthened my speech. But having once begun, she was not sufficiently mistress of herself, to stop where she intended; and giving way to the rage that filled her heart, she fell upon me a second time, who, she said, only sought to deceive her, and upon the King her brother, "who loves me so much," said she ironically, "that he cannot resolve to get rid of me; and as a proof entered into a long enumeration of her lovers: amongst whom it would have been easy for me to prove, that she had missed of an establishment through her own fault; as when she refused the King of Scotland. In the course of her complaints she neither spared the Queen her mother, nor King Henry III. who, she said, had all conspired to keep her single. Her stock of rancour being almost exhausted by so many invectives, the softer passion took its place, and naturally turned her thoughts on the Count of Soissons; a subject which she treated not less amply, but in a manner very different from the former.

At length, recollecting that her design by interrupting me, was to hear that advice by which, I told her, all past errors might be repaired, she asked me positively what that advice was, but with the same tone of malignant raillery; by which I was still better convinced, that her mind was irritated beyond the power of human eloquence to cure. But, pressed by the question, I replied, "By the Count of Soissons's doing the very con-

" trary of what he has hitherto done." The obſervations I made while I pronounced theſe few words, were ſufficient to perſuade me, that it would be to no purpoſe to propoſe the Duke of Montpenſier to her. I therefore looked upon my commiſſion to be at an end, or rather abſolutely fruſtrated; and all I aimed at now, was to draw myſelf out of this embarraſſment, by expreſſions ſo vague and general, that the Princeſs might not take any advantage of me, nor afterwards maintain, that I had failed in my promiſe to her. Nothing is more eaſy than this kind of diſcourſe. I entered at firſt upon the neceſſary duties of crowned heads, but did not inſiſt long upon this ſubject; though I drew no other inference, but that the King could not be reproached with any failure in his. This introduced another diſcourſe in form, divided into ſeveral parts, wherein Henry's gentleneſs of diſpoſition was copiouſly diſcuſſed; and to conclude by ſomething ſtill clearer, ſince the princeſs, contrary to my expectations, had patience enough to liſten to ſo tedious an harangue, I aſſured her, in few words, that Henry's temper was ſuch, that, I was confident, he would be eaſily prevailed upon to conſent to every thing that was reaſonable.

The Princeſs, ſurpriſed at ſo precipitate a concluſion, aſked me, indeed with ſome appearance of reaſon, if I had nothing more to ſay to her; for it is certain, that I had made much travel but little progreſs. I replied, that I had ſtill a great many things to add. This long converſation having laſted till night, I depended upon having wearied the Princeſs ſo much, that ſhe would take an abſolute leave of me: but I was miſtaken; ſhe gave me only till the next day to ſatisfy her demands, and left me with a ſullen and malignant air, accompanied with a glance, and ſome interjections, which I heard as I went out, upon the trick I had played her at Chartres;

Chartres; from whence I preſaged nothing favourable for the ſucceſs of my commiſſion.

I ſhould have been the moſt preſumptuous of all men, if, after this, I could have flattered myſelf with being able to bring her to the point we deſired. Indeed I was ſo far from entertaining ſuch a thought, that how happy ſhould I have been, if the Princeſs, in quitting me, had commanded me never to appear before her again? I went, however, to wait upon her at the appointed hour, which was after ſhe had dined. She had repaired to her cabinet earlier than uſual, and continued there ſhut up conferring with the ladies De Rohan, de la Guiche, de La-Barre, and De Neufvy, from none of whom I had the leaſt reaſon to expect any good offices. I waited in her chamber, talking to the ladies De Gratians, and Pangeac, and two other young ladies, who were as much inclined to favour me as the others to do the contrary. I told them, that I ſhould not have been ſorry, if they had been in the Princeſs's cabinet inſtead of thoſe ladies that were then with her, who, I was perſuaded, were that very moment giving her very bad counſels. They told me I ought not to imagine ſo, but in a tone that confirmed me ſtill more in my opinion.

It was an hour at leaſt before the Princeſs came out; ſhe had been all this time preparing herſelf, and, perceiving me, told me that ſhe was going to give me her anſwer; the purport of which it was not difficult to gueſs, by the formal, cold, and contemptuous air with which ſhe pronounced theſe words. I followed her, in great uneaſineſs; but ſhe ſpared me the pain of ſpeaking firſt, by telling me, that ſhe acquitted me of all I had promiſed to inform her of, and that now I had nothing to do but to hear her in my turn: then aſſuming an air ſtill more haughty and contemptuous, ſhe treated me in the preſence of all thoſe witneſſes (I am obliged to confeſs it) like the baſeſt of men, who, ſhe ſaid, took upon myſelf the character of a perſon

of importance, and an able politician, while, in reality I was a vile and infamous parasite, who had endeavoured to extort from her own mouth a confession of faults, of which neither she nor the Count had ever been guilty, to make my court to the King, who was himself ashamed of the part I acted. The Princess could not here avoid falling into the female fault of betraying, by an exuberance of words, the reserve she had resolved to maintain. Something which I had said the evening before, relating to her conduct, and to that of the Count de Soissons in Bearn, occurring to her memory, she entered into an unseasonable defence of it. Pangeac was called a great loggerhead, who had not yet received his full deserts; my comment upon the duties of Kings was found highly unbecoming: then recalling herself from this rambling strain, she told me, that, to close all with a few words. and to hinder me from boasting of my commission, she gave me to understand, that I was rash and imprudent to the last degree, to concern myself with the affairs of a person so far above me; I, that was only a private gentleman, whose highest honour it had been to be brought up in her family, and who, as well as all my relations, had subsisted only upon the bounty of the Princes of Navarre; that the fate of all those who, like me, ungrateful for past benefits, durst presume to interfere betwixt persons so nearly united, was to be sacrificed sooner or later, without the honour of having my interposition known to be the cause. From a woman these expressions might be endured; but, as the Princess was well assured, that no man whatever, not even the Count of Soissons, although a prince of the blood, durst talk to me in that way, she added, as the highest affront she could think of, that all she had said was in the Count's name as well as her own. The conclusion of this speech was of a piece with all the rest; she threatened with an excess of rage, to ruin me for ever with the King by a single word,

word, and forbad me, for the future, to appear in any place where ſhe might happen to be.

I do not believe any diſtinction of rank or ſex can authoriſe the uſe of expreſſions ſo abuſive: certainly it cannot be vanity in me to repeat them; but, as the Princeſs added endeavours to words, and obliged me to take meaſures for my own defence, in which, for the firſt time, I waved that ſubmiſſion which I owed to a Princeſs, the ſiſter of my King, I cannot better prove the neceſſity I was under to take ſuch ſteps, than by faithfully relating thoſe converſations, and even the very words that were uſed. Although my pride ſuffered greatly by this ſhameful treatment, I had diſcretion and even policy enough not to ſuffer it to appear; I ſay policy, for had my countenance expreſſed the leaſt emotion, or my reply the leaſt bitterneſs, the Princeſs, without hearing me, would have left me in a triumph, which it was neceſſary I ſhould leſſen before thoſe perſons who were either accomplices or witneſſes of the ſcene.

I began therefore with the falſe timidity of a man who is ſolicitous to exculpate himſelf; and that I might engage the Princeſs to hear all I had to ſay, I told her, that I was very much grieved to find, that bad counſels had made her diſcover a meaning in my words that I had never intended, and had drawn upon me a treatment I could not poſſibly deſerve; that it was eaſy for me to convince her how little I merited thoſe reproaches ſhe had caſt upon me; and to begin with the Count of Soiſſons, ſhe knew, that in all I had ſaid relating to him, I had added, that, for my own part, I was abſolutely convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. By this introduction I ſtopped the Princeſs, who ſuppoſed ſhe ſhould ſoon have the pleaſure to ſee me at her feet imploring pardon.

I went on with the ſame compoſure to tell her, that, to remove the diſpleaſure ſhe ſeemed to entertain,

tertain, that a private gentleman, and one unworthy to approach her, ſhould be ſent to treat with her, I begged leave to remind her, that although, by the prodigality of my anceſtors, I was neither poſſeſſed of the eſtate, nor dignities, to which I had a claim, yet that above a hundred thouſand crowns had been carried by the daughters of my family into the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria *; and that, far from being a charge to the King ſince I had been in his ſervice, his Majeſty had ſometimes given me the pleaſure to ſee him have recourſe to me in his neceſſities. I acknowledged, however, that nothing could juſtify my having exceeded his Majeſty's orders, if I had really been capable of doing ſo. That moment, taking another paper of the King's out of my pocket, addreſſed to the Princeſs, in form of a letter, I took advantage of the aſtoniſhment into which I had caſt her, to tell her, that, to finiſh my meſſage before I quitted her for ever, I declared to her, as her ſervant, that his Majeſty, holding the place of her father, and being likewiſe her maſter and king, ſhe had no other part to take than ſubmiſſion to his will; that, without liſtening to any thing the Count of Soiſſons could ſuggeſt, ſhe muſt reſolve either to accept of a huſband from the King her brother, or incur the loſs of his favour; that, in this laſt caſe, it would be a very ſenſible mortification to her, after having held the rank of a Queen, to ſee herſelf reduced to a very inconſiderable fortune, ſince ſhe was not ignorant, that, beſides the preſents the King had beſtowed, in the reſignation he made her of thoſe eſtates ſhe at preſent enjoyed, he had conſulted rather the dictates of his own heart, than the laws and cuſtoms of Navarre, which might have given her a proviſion nothing near ſo conſiderable.

* I refer the reader to the explanation I have given in the beginning of theſe memoirs, about the alliances of the houſe of Bethune.

Theſe

These last words drew the Princess, in spite of herself, out of that scornful insensibility and disdain which she had affected to shew, to precipitate her into the greatest transport of rage of which any woman could be capable. After giving vent to all that anger could inspire, she went furiously into her cabinet; and I withdrew with great composure towards the stair-case, whether Madam de Neufvy came running after me, to tell me, that the Princess had sent her to demand the letter I had shewn her. This was a new stratagem of those four ladies, who had persuaded the Princess, that she would ruin me more effectually with the King, if she could make it appear, that I had sacrificed his Majesty's letter. I perceived the snare that was laid for me, and I replied to Madam de Neufvy, that I was surprised the Princess, after having refused to hear the contents of the letter, should send immediately to demand it. I added, that I would communicate it only to the Princess, and read it only once to her, having occasion for it myself. This was not what the messenger wanted, and she returned without making me any reply.

I went that evening to Moret, where my wife then was, and staying with her only one day, set out the next for Paris, to meet my courier, whom I had sent from Fontainebleau with dispatches to the King. But I was greatly surprised when, instead of him, I saw young Boëssé, the Princess's steward of the household, arrive with a letter, at which I was still more surprised, when I saw it was from the King. I knew that Boëssé was the person whom she sent with her dispatches to his Majesty. I found that this letter had been sent open to the Princess, and had not been transmitted to me till it had passed through her hands, and that she had sealed it with her own seal: all these circumstances left me no room to doubt of my misfortune, which by a sad foreboding in my mind was still more confirmed, and I opened

pened the letter trembling. My fears were but too juſt. Inſtead of praiſes, and thoſe expreſſions of eſteem and confidence with which the King's letters to me were generally filled, my eyes were ſtruck with a ſevere command to make the Princeſs ſatisfaction. His Majeſty "could not ſuffer (theſe were his words) that one of his ſubjects ſhould affront a Princeſs, and his ſiſter, without puniſhing him immediately for his fault, if he did not repair it by ſubmiſſions."

I was aſtoniſhed, I own, with this mortifying blow, and ſo much the more, as, having no reaſon to imagine, that the King had not received my letter, I ſaw that it was after he had read it that I was thus treated. What reflections did I not then make upon the misfortune of being employed in reconciling the great, and upon the danger of ſerving kings. I could reproach myſelf with nothing in regard to Henry. I had ſerved him four and twenty years with an unwearied aſſiduity, and a zeal that nothing could allay: it was with reluctancy that I accepted this laſt diſagreeable commiſſion: the writing which I had obtained of the King contained many things more ſevere than any I had ſaid to the Princeſs; and I had ſuppreſſed them at a time when it would, perhaps, have been excuſable to have aggravated them. My guilt was, at moſt, a too faithful obedience; yet his Majeſty ſacrificed me cruelly, without any regard to my reaſons, or his own expreſs commands. I was ſenſibly affected with this injuſtice, and all my thoughts ran upon reſolutions for ever to quit the court.

But ſcarce had I formed theſe reſolutions when a thouſand motives concurred to make me change them. Henry, as I had already often proved, had acquired ſuch an empire over my inclinations, that after repeated reſolutions on my ſide to quit him, a ſingle word from him has drawn me to him as it were by enchantment. To this was added the con-

ſideration of my own intereſt. By liſtening to my reſentment I was expoſing myſelf to loſe the rewards of my long ſervices, when I was juſt upon the point of obtaining them, and at a time when, being diſinherited by the Viſcount de Gand, I loſt an eſtate of fifty thouſand livres a-year; exhauſted by a long and expenſive ſervice, having a houſe to renew, and menaced with a numerous family by the fertility of my wife, theſe expected rewards were all my reſource, and the only foundation I had to build upon. But, on the other ſide, how could I endure to ſuffer, like a criminal, the haughty and contemptuous behaviour of a Princeſs, with whom I had juſt before maintained a character ſo different, and who would make this cup as bitter for me as ſhe was able? The agitation and grief of my mind may be eaſily imagined, by any one who can ſuppoſe himſelf in my place.

At length I took the moſt prudent part I could, but it was far from ſuſpending the uneaſineſs that preyed upon my ſpirits; I feigned ſickneſs, and the deep melancholy with which I was ſeized, was in reality capable of communicating to my body ſome part of the diſorder of my mind. I diſcovered to no perſon whatever the cauſe of my grief, but ſent for a phyſician, who making me tremble for the conſequences of a diſeaſe entirely of my own making, promiſed, however, to reſtore me to health by plentiful bleeding and purging.

At four o'clock in the afternoon another phyſician arrived, for whom the cure of my diſtemper was reſerved; this was Picaut, my courier, whom I had waited for impatiently, to take, upon the accounts he ſhould bring me, my laſt reſolutions. After informing me that he had had the misfortune to ſtrain his ankle, which was the cauſe that the Princeſs's courier came to the King before him, he preſented me with a letter, in this Prince's own handwriting, which removed all my complaints. Henry

told me in it, that I had reaſon to be offended with the contents of his former letter, which he had written in one of thoſe ſudden tranſports that I knew were natural to him, and upon exaggerated complaints, joined to the inſtances and importunities of his ſiſter; but that, to calm my uneaſineſs, he aſſured me he would diſavow nothing I had ſaid, in which if he failed, he would permit me to make uſe of his own letter againſt him. He concluded with theſe words, "Come to me, that you may "inform me more particularly of all that has paſ- "ſed, and depend upon being as well received by "me as you have ever been, although I ſhould be "forced to take up the old motto of the houſe of "Bourbon, *Let who will grumble.* Adieu, my "friend."

In this kind familiarity I knew again my old maſter. This letter was dated the 17th of May, and the firſt the 15th, and both from Amiens, for which place I ſet out very early in the morning, and arrived there the next day. I neither ſuppreſſed nor palliated any part of what had been ſaid or done at Fontainebleau between the Princeſs and me; and his Majeſty, by repeated expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem for me, ſhewed that he approved of my whole conduct.

That I may not too often interrupt the thread of my hiſtory by a recital which is equally proper every where, I ſhall finiſh, in a few words, all that concerns this affair. La-Varenne, who was employed by the Princeſs to take care of her intereſts at court, did not fail to inform her of the good reception the King gave me, and the general report, that the finances would be wholly confided to my care. The Princeſs comprehended, by this news, that it was now neceſſary not only to drop her reſentment, but that it was alſo her intereſt to be upon good terms, for the future, with a man from whoſe hands henceforwards all the appointments

for

for the ſupport of her houſhold were likely to come. Whether ſhe was convinced that ſhe herſelf was wrong, or ſtill imputed the blame to me, ſhe had the generoſity to pardon me: and I muſt confeſs, to the honour of this Princeſs, that in this ſhe ſhewed a greatneſs of ſoul of which few could have been capable. If, from the qualities which marked the character of the Princeſs, we abate an exceſs of vivacity, which it was not in her power to reſtrain, and to which, in the affair above mentioned, was added the force of the moſt impetuous of all paſſions, there will remain a diſpoſition naturally eaſy and benevolent, and capable even of friendſhip, and of gratitude.

She communicated this alteration of her ſentiments with regard to me to Madam de Pangeac, one of my friends; and even made the firſt advances to Madam de Roſny. I had left her in childbed at Moret. When her health was perfectly reeſtabliſhed, ſhe went one day to church at Fontainebleau, and returned without waiting upon the Princeſs, under pretence of a ſlight indiſpoſition which confined her Highneſs to her bed. Madam de Pangeac blaming this, as if from herſelf, but in reality by the Princeſs's orders, my wife found herſelf obliged to tell her, that the terms I was upon with the Princeſs, made it impoſſible for her to do herſelf that honour. At a ſecond journey which Madam de Roſny made to Fontainebleau, the Princeſs cauſed her to be told, that the reaſons ſhe had given Madam de Pangeac ought not to prevent her coming to ſee her; and in fact on her going ſhe was moſt graciouſly received. The Princeſs owned ſincerely, that ſhe was not yet fully ſatisfied with my conduct, as ſhe thought ſhe had reaſon to expect a very different one, conſidering thoſe inſtances of friendſhip which I had received from her in my youth. She mentioned ſeveral parties of pleaſure at Pau, or at M. de Moiſſens's, where ſhe

had done me the honour to take me with her, particularly that when running at the ring I gained the prize, which was a jewel of ſmall value, and was going to receive it from her hand, ſhe changed the jewel, and gave me one in its ſtead worth two thouſand crowns. She did not forget to mention, that my father had often carried the Queen, her mother, in his arms. After all this, the Princeſs very obligingly told my wife, that her reſentment againſt me had never extended to her, whoſe humour and character ſhe loved. She ſaid a thouſand obliging things of M. de Saint-Martin, my wife's uncle, who had been firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to the King; and of Madam de Saint-Martin, the ſiſter of M. de Moiſſens, and conſequently a near relation of her own.

Madam de Roſny left her extremely well ſatisfied, and fully determined to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to reſtore me to her favour. She made no attempts this firſt viſit; but afterwards, obſerving to the Princeſs the attention I ſhewed in ſettling the aſſignments for the payment of the officers of her houſhold, and repreſenting to her, that it was by repeated orders from his Majeſty that I had ſubdued the reluctance I had to accept of that commiſſion which had offended her, Madam de la Force, who was then at the Princeſs's toilet, joined my wife; and, what ſurpriſed me greatly, being ſupported by Madam de Rohan and Madam de la Barre, they prevailed upon her to ſend for me that moment. From the time that the Princeſs was convinced of my innocence, ſhe had ſo great a degree of friendſhip for me as to confide all her ſecrets to me alone. She propoſed, and promoted with all her intereſt, the marriage of my eldeſt daughter with the Duke of Rohan, her neareſt relation * on the ſide of the deceaſed

* Henry II. of that name, Duke de Rohan, &c. who married Margaret de Bethune, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe memoirs, was

deceaſed Queen her mother, and the heir of her eſtate in Navarre. The King did not then approve of this match, though he did afterwards. And, laſtly, when this Princeſs ſet out for Lorrain, ſufficiently diſcontented, as is well known, with the court of France, ſhe declared publicly, that there were only three perſons in it whom ſhe eſteemed, and that I was one of them.

Hoſtilities between the King's party and that of the league continued, during the years 1595 and 1596, in the ſame parts of the kingdom as in the preceding years; in Britanny, between Meſſieurs d'Aumont and de Saint Luc, and the Duke of Mercœur; and in the provinces in the ſouth of France, where ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes happened between Meſſieurs de Ventadour, de la Rochefoucaut, de Châteauneuf, de Saint-Ange, de Loſtange, de Chambaret, and other officers on the King's ſide; and Meſſieurs de Pampadour, de Raſtignac, de Saint-Chamant, de Montpeſat, de la Chapelle, Biron, and other leaguers. The defeat of the Crocans, the ſiege of Blaye, the taking of Agen, and the death of the Duke of Rochefoucaut, were the moſt remarkable events that happened in the Limoſin and the adjacent places. Leſdiguieres continued the war with equal ſucceſs in Dauphinè, Provence, and Piedmont; ſometimes againſt the Duke of Savoy and ſometimes againſt the Duke of Epernon *. The concluſion of all theſe expeditions was the entire defeat of the Duke of Savoy, who, thinking to derive ſome advantages from the diſ-

was grandſon to René I. of that name, Viſcount de Rohan, and Iſabella D'Albret, daughter to John King of Navarre. See in all the genealogiſts the other alliances of this illuſtrious houſe with that of France.

* Beſides a war, France was ſore afflicted this year 1596, with a plague and famine, which were occaſioned by the utter inverſion of the ſeaſons; for L'Etoile ſays, that there was a ſummer in April, an autumn in May, and a winter in June.

union

union of the Dukes of Guiſe and Epernon, had marched as far as Provence, from whence he was ſhamefully repulſed, and likewiſe the diſcomfiture of the Duke of Epernon, who yielding to his rival the Duke of Guiſe, aſſiſted by the ſame Leſdiguieres, D'Ornano, and the Counteſs of Sault's party was left without any reſource, and reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the King's clemency, by letters conceived in terms extremely ſubmiſſive, which his Majeſty received at Gaillon. His letters were very ſoon after followed by himſelf; he came and threw himſelf at the King's feet, which was a kind of triumph for Henry, this Duke's humiliation, with that of Bouillon, and de la Tremouille, being ſome of the things for which he moſt earneſtly wiſhed.

During his ſtay at Amiens, the King took ſeveral new meaſures towards my reception into the council of finances. This Prince, who, by reaſon of the native rectitude of his own mind, could not believe it poſſible for men to be as corrupt as they really were; and from the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, could not proceed to extremities till he had tried all other methods, had for a long time imagined, that he ſhould at length bring this body to manage the revenue of the ſtate with wiſdom and œconomy; and this important reformation was not ſo difficult, but that it might be produced by the advice of one man of application, ſkill, and integrity, whom he would aſſociate with thoſe that compoſed it. With this view he ſpoke, both in public and private, to the gentlemen of the council to receive me amongſt them. However great their reluctance was, they durſt not openly reject a propoſal, which being made in this manner, reſembled rather an intreaty than an order.

I own ingenuouſly I did not much reliſh this ſcheme. His Majeſty, in a private converſation, told me it was his deſire I ſhould endeavour to gain

gain the good-will of the gentleman of the council, and by some instances of complaisance, remove the suspicions they had entertained, that if I joined their society, it would be only to do them bad offices; so that I might engage them by my behaviour to make it their own request, that I should be associated with them. I did not hesitate a moment in replying, that this appeared to me to be the worst way imaginable of being introduced into the council of the finances, to owe it as an obligation to those who governed them; and knowing so well as I did, the disposition of that body, I could not serve them and the state at the same time. The King, who did not like to be contradicted, and who likewise remembered my disputes with the Duke of Nevers, supposed I had still some remains of resentment against those gentlemen. He discovered, he thought, something of haughtiness, or, at least, of self-sufficiency in my answer, and told me, with some warmth, that he had no mind to irritate every body upon my account; therefore, without making any more attempts to bring me into the finances, he would cast about for something else to employ my head, which could not, he said, continue inactive.

He had still some remains of displeasure in his countenance, when he left me to visit Madam de Liancourt, who inquiring the cause, represented to him, that he would never be served with fidelity, till he found a man who, from a regard only to the public good, would not fear to draw upon himself the hatred of the financiers. As for me, I looked upon my engaging in the finances as farther off than ever; and reflecting, that my employment would henceforwards be reduced to treaties and negotiations, an office which seldom fails to bring certain ruin upon any man, who would maintain his rank in it with dignity, and his reputation with honour, I resolved to explain myself to his Majesty,

and

and prevail upon him to approve of a ſcheme that would, at leaſt, reimburſe me of all I had advanced. But Henry did not give me time to make the propoſal. When I approached him, he told me, that, upon the repreſentation of Madam de Liancourt, he was now brought over to my opinion, and that, without any longer delay, he was going to declare his intentions publicly, after having, for form's ſake, imparted them firſt to the Conſtable and Villeroi, whoſe buſineſs it was to expedite my commiſſion. Theſe two gentlemen came very ſeaſonably into the King's apartment, and received this order; the conſtable making a bow, and Villeroi ſaying, he would give me the commiſſion as ſoon as he could meet with a precedent of the proper form.

In the afternoon, when the King was gone a hunting, I went to make my acknowledgements to the Marchioneſs de Monceaux, (for this was the title that Madam de Liancourt had lately taken;) after which I thought I was obliged, in civility, to viſit Monſieur de Villeroi, of whom, inſtead of the commiſſion, I aſked for a warrant, which would have anſwered the ſame purpoſe. Villeroi made an evaſive reply, and for three or four days that I preſſed him, always deferred the affair on various pretences till the next day. At laſt, the King left Amiens to go to Monceaux, and paſſed by Liancourt, where (Liancourt), his firſt equerry, received and treated him very ſplendidly. It was in this place that the utmoſt efforts were determined to be uſed, to exclude me from the council of finances.

Liancourt, at Villeroi's ſolicitation, invited the Chancellor, who was his intimate friend, and the other members of the council, who came to that place by the King's order, to ſtay at his houſe during the King's reſidence there. They took advantage of this opportunity, of being always near the

King, to endeavour effectually to exclude me from the council. The method they made use of was not to attack me directly, but to insinuate to the King, that I was not fit for this employment, in which, they said, for want of that knowledge which experience only can give, it would not be possible to avoid committing a thousand faults, the least of which was enough to ruin, past remedy, the credit, and consequently bring on the destruction of the state. These discourses were so often repeated in the King's presence, (for they designedly turned the conversation upon that subject), and with so great an appearance of sincerity, that the King was, at last, shaken by them, and when at the same time he found these gentlemen could, with such facility, form the surest projects, discourse with such clearness upon the strength and interests of the state, calculate its revenues with the utmost exactness, and that, in a word, they were apparently masters of the whole science of commerce, in its full extent, and of every other method by which a state is rendered flourishing; and especially that they conversed with each other in a language scarce intelligible to any but themselves; and, influenced still more by the long preparation which they represented as absolutely necessary, before any one could be received into the council, he thought, that the present bad state of the finances was not the greatest misfortune with which they were threatened. His Majesty, likewise, looking upon all this as a proof of their repentance, and from the apprehensions he had just given them, expecting to see a very great alteration in their conduct, gave over all thoughts of adding me to their number.

Villeroi, who, during this time, continued at Amiens, yet was not the less informed of all the measures taken by a body, whom he directed as he pleased, seized this opportunity to send my commission to the King, which he could not dis-

penſe with himſelf from expediting, after the expreſs orders he had received from his Majeſty. When it was tranſmitted to the King, he had left Liancourt, having ſtaid there only a day, and was then at Monceaux, where, ſtill under the influence of theſe ſuggeſtions, he gave it to Beringhen, telling him to keep it without ſaying any thing to me, till he had orders to the contrary. Beringhen, who was one of my friends, diſcovered the ſecret to me, which I kept faithfully. Fifteen days paſſed in this manner. The King did not ſpeak to Beringhen about my commiſſion, and the gentlemen of the council, blinded by their ſucceſs, inſtead of that ſincere repentance which his Majeſty expected from them, gave him new proofs of their artifice and inſincerity, and ſuch groſs ones, that they forced him to cruſh them with the blow which they might, with very little difficulty, have avoided.

The King diſcovered that the council had juſt farmed out the royal aids of Normandy for thirty thouſand crowns, and to defraud the treaſury of this ſum, ſo much ſhort of the true value of that tax, they had applied it intirely to the diſcharging their old demands upon the revenue. With a little attention he convinced himſelf of other faults in their conduct; that the five large farms did not produce the fourth part of their value; becauſe Zamet, Gondy, and other farmers of the King's revenues, who were employed in them, by connivance of the gentlemen of the council, divided with them the the immenſe profits that accrued from thoſe farms. The avarice of theſe people was not yet ſatisfied, and, under pretence of the loſſes at Calais, Cambray, Ardreſs, &c. they allowed ſuch drawbacks upon all the other parts of the King's revenues, that, inſtead of increaſing, they became perceptibly leſs. The King, amidſt that juſt indignation which this knowledge inſpired, ſent for me,

and

and commanded me to go to Paris, to inquire from whence ſo great a diſſipation of the money proceeded, which could only take its riſe from the council. I replied, that his Majeſty having certainly revoked the order he had once given to Villeroi, to diſpatch my commiſſion, ſince I had not received it, I had no right to intrude into the council, or to meddle with the affairs tranſacted there. "How! (ſaid Henry,) concealing his conſciouſneſs of this reproach,) then Beringhen has "not given you your commiſſion, and a letter "from Villeroi, which he has had theſe fifteen "days: you ſee this heavy German would have "forgot them." While, by the King's orders, I went to make preparations for my journey, that I might reach Claye that evening, his Majeſty ſpoke to Beringhen, who conſented to take all the blame upon himſelf. During this interval, a thought came into my head, which I communicated to the King when I returned to receive his laſt orders. I told him, that I thought it would be neceſſary for me to go, before the day appointed for the opening of the ſtates, to ſome of the principal diſtricts of the kingdom, to procure there a more certain account of the preſent ſtate of his Majeſty's revenues, the diminution they had ſuffered, and the augmentations they would admit of, to the end that his Majeſty might regulate his demands upon the ſtates according to this ſcheme, which, however imperfect, might ſtill, in proportion, throw ſome light upon the ſtrength of the more diſtant diſtricts, and conſequently upon the whole kingdom: that, beſides this advantage, I did not deſpair of procuring for him, in thoſe diſtricts only which I ſhould viſit, the three or four hundred thouſand crowns which he had demanded in vain of the council. I thought it would be uſeleſs, and even imprudent, to take upon myſelf to make this examination, without ſuch an inſtru-

ment as appeared to me to be the moſt effectual means to prevent my being deceived, which was a full power from the King to ſuſpend the contumacious receivers and overſeers from the exerciſe of their office, or even to diſcard them entirely, and to reward the integrity of thoſe who were beſt diſpoſed to promote the good of his Majeſty's ſervice.

Henry highly approved of the eſſential part of this ſcheme, but altered ſomething of the manner in which it was to be propoſed to the council. He was of opinion, that I ſhould take ſuch meaſures in offering this advice to them, that thoſe who moſt valued themſelves upon the ſtrength of their genius, ſuch as Sancy, Schomberg, Freſne, and La-Grangeleroi, might ſeize the hint firſt themſelves, and ſo paſs, at leaſt in part, for the authors of it; and likewiſe, that each one in the company might flatter himſelf, that this commiſſion would be given to him, or through his means, to the intendants and maſters of requeſts, who were wholly at his devotion. Nothing could be more prudent than this medium, which gratified alike the vanity of ſome, and the rapacity of all. Accordingly I took my place in the council, where, by a miracle, to be found only in courts, my colleagues, who inwardly pined with vexation, ſuffered nothing but joy to appear in their countenances, words, and behaviour. I was almoſt deceived myſelf by that profuſion of praiſes with which the chancellor loaded me, and the manner in which he told me I had been expected by them with the utmoſt impatience ſuch is the art of courtiers; they ſettle it amongſt themſelves, that however groſsly they play the counterfeit, they ſhould not appear ridiculous to each other.

The treaty with the Duke of Maïenne, which had been agreed upon ſome time before, was concluded during the King's ſtay at Monceaux.

When

When the King was at Amiens, the Duke had ſent a man to him, named D'Eſtienne, to know what place would be agreeable to his Majeſty, for him to come and pay him his reſpects; and the King appointed Monceaux, in conſideration of the Duke's indiſpoſition, which would not permit him to make longer journies than from Amiens to Soiſſons, where he reſided. The King was walking in his park, attended only by me, and holding my hand, when the Duke of Maïenne arrided, who put one knee to the ground, with the loweſt ſubmiſſions, and added to a promiſe of inviolable fidelity his acknowledgments to his Majeſty for having forced him, he ſaid, from the arrogance of the Spaniards, and the artifice of the Italians. Henry, who, as ſoon as he ſaw him approach, had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and forcing him to riſe, embraced him again with that goodneſs which he never withheld from a ſubject that retured to his duty; then taking his hand, he made him walk with him in his park, converſing with him familarly upon the embelliſhments he deſigned to make in it. The King walked ſo faſt, that the Duke of Maïenne, equally fatigued by his ſciatica, his fat, and the extreme heat of the weather, ſuffered great torments without daring to complain. The King perceiving it, by the Duke being red, and in a ſweat, whiſpered to me, "If I walk longer (ſaid "he,) with this corpulent body, I ſhall revenge "myſelf upon him, without any great difficulty, "for all the miſchiefs he has done us." Then turning to the Duke of Maïenne, "Tell me truly, "couſin, (purſued he,) do I not walk a little too "faſt for you?" The Duke replied, that he was almoſt ſtifled; and that, if his Majeſty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without deſigning it. "Hold there, couſin, (replied "the King with a ſmile, embracing him again,

"and

" and lightly taping his ſhoulder,) for this is all " the vengeance you will ever receive from me." The Duke of Maïenne, ſenſibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiſs the hand his Majeſty gave him; and proteſted that he would henceforwards ſerve him even againſt his own children. " I believe it, (ſaid Henry;) and " that you may love and ſerve me a long time, go " to the caſtle and reſt and refreſh yourſelf, for " for you have much need of it. I will give you " a couple of bottles of Arbois wine, for I know " you do not hate it: here is Roſny, whom I re- " ſign to accompany you; he ſhall do the honours " of my houſe, and attend you to your chamber; " he is one of my oldeſt ſervants, and one of thoſe " who is moſt rejoiced at your heartily reſolving " to ſerve, and love me affectionately." The King continuing his walk, left me with the Duke of Maïenne, whom I conducted to a ſummer-houſe to repoſe himſelf, and afterwards attended him on horſeback to the caſtle, as much ſatisfied with the King and me as we were both with him.

The King thought Monceaux ſo agreeable a place, that he ſtaid there longer than he had at firſt intended: He ſent for the Conſtable and Villeroi from Amiens, and ordered the council of the finances to reſide at Meaux, for the conveniency of receiving his commands. I had not yet propoſed in it my ſcheme of viſiting the diſtricts. His Majeſty, more and more convinced, that it muſt have good conſequences, took upon himſelf the taſk of propoſing it. At the firſt hint he gave of it, the counſellors, who thought none but themſelves could be deſigned for this employment, and each of whom was attentive to his own particular intereſt, without prejudicing that of the ſociety in general, approved of the deſign; but were greatly ſurpriſed, when they found that, amongſt them all, the King only named La Grangeleroi for this purpoſe,

purpoſe, and appointed him two diſtricts: His Majeſty filled up the other commiſſions with the names of Meſſieurs De Caumartin and Bizouze, for two diſtricts each; and with thoſe of the other two maſters of requeſts, for one diſtrict each: four of the chief and moſt extenſive were aſſigned to me. The gentlemen of the council began now to repent that they had not hindered the execution of a plan, which would produce a full proof of their injuſtice: they united their utmoſt endeavours to render it uſeleſs, or at leaſt to traverſe it as much as poſſible. Their malice was all directed againſt me; for by the confidence the King placed in me, and the part I had acted in this affair, they gueſſed the truth. The character of ignorance, raſhneſs, obſtinacy, and ſome other faults ſtill more glaring, was plentifully beſtowed upon me, and I had no ſooner begun to exerciſe the duties of my employment, than I perceived that their foreſight had ſuggeſted all the neceſſary meaſures to be taken with the treaſurers of France, the receivers general and particular, comptrollers, clerks, and the loweſt officers in the revenue. All that crew, moſt of whom had either ſold, or blindly devoted themſelves to their wills, were ready to do whatever was required of them; ſome abſented themſelves, and left their offices ſhut up; others preſented me with a ſtate of their accounts, drawn up with all that art which may be expected from men who make a ſcience of roguery: others contented themſelves with ſhewing me the orders of Meſſieurs de Freſne, D'Incarville, and Des Barreux, by which they were forbid to communicate their regiſters and accounts to any perſon whatever.

This exceſs of malice I at firſt treated only with gentleneſs and patience. I exhorted, I endeavoured to perſuade, upon principles of honour and juſtice, perſons who were alike ſtrangers to both.

I next cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the deſign of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom was to ſuppreſs that prodigious number of offices an clerkſhips, eſpecially thoſe of the treaſury, of all ſocieties the leaſt uſeful, though the moſt difficult to manage; and that none were to be continued in their places but thoſe who made themſelves worthy of that diſtinction, by a ſincerity which, on this occaſion, would prove their regard to the public good. This threat producing no effect upon perſons who were ſecretly ſupported by the council itſelf, I was obliged to make uſe of the power I had received. I diſmiſſed moſt of thoſe dangerous officers, cauſing the duties of their employment to be exerciſed by two out of each body, whom I choſe amongſt all thoſe that appeared to have the beſt principles. By theſe means I made myſelf maſter of all the regiſters and accounts, which ſerved me for a clue to enter that labyrinth of roberies and exactions.

What a ſcene had I there before me! It would be vain to attempt an account of the tricks and ſubtilties of this miſchievous trade, or an enumeration of concealments, forgeries, miſrepreſentations, and productions of the ſame evidences, to ſerve different purpoſes; not to mention the contrivance of an artificial confuſion, through which thoſe wretches ſee with great clearneſs, though, to every other eye, all is darkneſs and inextricable perplexity. I content myſelf with remarking that, by the debtor-ſide of two old accounts, which I cauſed to be rectified by the diſcharges and bills of exchange of the current and three preceding years, which I brought together and examined, I eaſily collected more than five hundred thouſand crowns, which was loſt to the King. It may be judged what a ſum would have been raiſed, if, from all thoſe who were thus employed, a rigorous reſtitution had been demanded of all that they fraudulently,

dulently gained in so long a course of dishonesty, out of the different sums that had passed through their hands, since only from assignments for old debts, re-imbursements of loans, arrears of long standing, and orders payable to the bearer, so much money was recovered.

My partners were not so fortunate, or so exact as I; all, except Caumartin, who brought the King two hundred thousand livres, paid his Majesty only in long memorials of improvements to be made in the farming his revenues; though the King had chosen those persons with the greatest care. But it is not surprising that they should act in this manner; for to dare the hatred of a society so powerful as that of the financiers in France, to be a proof against the presents and allurements, against the tricks and artifices of all their dependents, the greatest part of whom do not want understanding, and make use of it only to dazzle, corrupt, and deceive, requires a degree of courage and fortitude of which few persons are masters.

Mean time the gentlemen of the council, who had intelligence of all my proceedings in the provinces, were in a situation that may be easily imagined. Unless they found means to render all my endeavours useless, or to ruin myself before my return, their reputation and interest were both at stake. My absence afforded them all the convenience they could wish for the prosecution of this design; every thing that malice could suggest was said and done, by them and their emissaries, to prejudice the King against me: they never mentioned me but as a tyrant, who drained the people of all their substance, by the most cruel extortions, without procuring any advantage to the King: since the sums with which I took such pains to fill his treasury, being designed for the payment of pensions to the princes of the blood, and salaries of the great officers of the crown, they would be

only placed in his coffers to be taken out again immediately. Notwithſtanding the invectives and impoſtures of this terrible cabal, none of whoſe practices againſt me I was unacquainted with, I perſiſted to finiſh my work with all imaginable diligence, and to make the moſt prudent precautions, that I might one day be able to ſtop the mouths of my accuſers.

Henry, who had at firſt given no credit to their reports, beginning afterwards to apprehend bad conſequences from my inexperience in thoſe affairs, deſired me, in his letters, to return as ſoon as poſſible: but, at length, when my enemies had made their party ſo ſtrong, that there was a general outcry againſt me at court, the King was prevailed upon to believe, that I ſhould uſe the power I was poſſeſſed of with a ſeverity that would make even himſelf odious to the people; and then, inſtead of a deſire, I received an abſolute order to return to Paris. I obeyed without heſitation, though greatly concerned to be thus ſtopped in the midſt of my inquiries. I cauſed the accounts of my four diſtricts to be immediately drawn up, and ſigned by eight receivers-general; and not having time to convert the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns I had raiſed into a leſs bulky coin, I loaded ſeventy carts with them, making the eight receivers-general accompany them, under the guard of an officer and thirty private men of the marechauſſee, or partrolling horſe-guard, who conducted them to Rouen, where the King then was, at the opening of the ſtates.

Of all the ſlanders which had been invented by the gentlemen of the council, to procure my diſgrace, none ſeemed to them ſo ſpecious as to perſuade the King, that I had filled the priſons with the officers and clerks of his finances; to which they thought fit to add, that through an inſolent vanity, I brought in my retinue fifty of the princi-

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pal ones bound in chains. The King, who ſuſpected no falſehood in ſo poſitive a charge, received me, when on my arrival at Rouen I went to pay him my reſpects, with an air that convinced me my enemies had been very active in their endeavours to hurt me. He did me the honour, indeed, to embrace me, but with a coldneſs and reſerve altogether unuſual with him. He aſked me why I had given myſelf the uſeleſs trouble of bringing money along with me, which I knew belonged to perſons whom he had no mind to diſoblige; and he was not a little ſurpriſed to hear, that not one denier of it was due to the princes of the blood, nor to any of the penſionaries of the ſtate, who were all paid the April quarter, and would be likewiſe as exactly paid thoſe of July and October, ſince I had not taken up any of the payments before-hand. The King, after obliging me to repeat theſe words ſeveral times, and even to ſwear to the truth of them, broke into an exclamation againſt thoſe wicked detractors, and impudent impoſtors, as he called them; "but," added he, "what do "you intend to do with the receivers and officers "whom you keep priſoners in your train?" The aſtoniſhment into which this queſtion threw me, was of itſelf ſufficient to convince the King of the falſehood of this accuſation; nor was it difficult for me to perceive that moment that the malice of the gentlemen of the council would recoil upon themſelves; and that it would diſcloſe more effectually the ſecret motives of their conduct than any thing I could ſay. His Majeſty required no other explanation; on the contrary, he loaded me with praiſes and demonſtrations of kindneſs

Having been told, that the ſum I had raiſed muſt be very inconſiderable, upon his aſking me what it was, I replied, that being unwilling to keep any part of it in my own hands, either for my charges, expences, or penſion, the receivers-ge-

neral would find the full ſum ſpecified in the accounts, and learn from thence never to keep back any part of the revenues, and his Majeſty might himſelf deduct my expences from the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns which I had brought him. A ſum ſo conſiderable gave great pleaſure to the King, who was in extreme want of money: he told me, that he would take care my expences ſhould be all paid; and that, beſides my penſion of ten thouſand livers a-month, which he raiſed to eighteen, he would preſent me with the ſum of ſix thouſand crowns, as a reward for the ſervice I had juſt done him. He commanded me to ſay nothing of what paſſed between him and me, and ſent me to lay apart from the money I had brought him what was neceſſary for the payment of ſix companies of Swiſs, at the rate of eighteen hundred crowns a company, and to give it them the next day, as that was a preſſing demand.

I returned to my carriages, which ſtood in two courts belonging to the Sieur De Martinbault, under the ſame guard that had conducted them to Rouen. I ordered them to be unloaded, and the barrels that contained the caſh to be placed in apartments, the locks of which were changed, and ſecured by large padlocks, with three keys to each; the two receivers had one a-piece and myſelf the third. The next morning I ſent the Swiſs officers the ten thouſand crowns that were due to them by three clerks, eſcorted by ten ſoldiers of the guard.

A ſhort time after I had ſent away this eſcort, Sancy who was generally charged with this employment, ſent me a billet, in which he deſired me, "to deliver to the Sieur Le-Charran, the "bearer, ninety thouſand crowns for the pay-"ment of the Swiſs." Theſe were the terms in which the billet was conceived; for this counſellor would have thought it a degradation of his high rank to have condeſcended to any politeneſs or explanation

explanation with his colleagues. I was equally offended at the ſtiff air of his letter, and the impudence with which he demanded a ſum that I knew to be three times more than was due; therefore I anſwered the bearer bluntly, that I neither knew Sancy, his writing, nor his orders. "How! do "you not know Sancy!" ſaid Charron, ſurpriſed, no doubt, at my preſumption, for at this name the whole council trembled, the rank Sancy held in it approaching very near to that of ſuperintendant. Perceiving that I had no intention to ſend any other anſwer, he went back to report it with all the timidity of a ſervant who is apprehenſive of awakening the bad humours of his maſter. Unfortunately for Sancy, he repeated my meſſage before ſeveral perſons who were witneſſes likewiſe of his tranſports. "We ſhall ſoon ſee," ſaid he, ſwearing, "whether he knows me or not." Then, after loading me with what invectives he thought fit, he went directly to Saint-Ouen to the King. "Well, Sancy," ſaid his Majeſty to him, "have "you been to pay our Swiſs?" "No, Sire," replied Sancy, with a ſullen air, "I cannot go, for it "does not pleaſe your Monſieur de Roſny that I "I ſhould, who plays the emperor in his apart-"ment, ſet upon his barrels of caſh, like an ape "upon a block, and ſays he knows no one; and "I am not ſure whether you will have more credit "with him than any one elſe." "What is the "meaning of all this?" replied the King, "I ſee "how it is, you will never be weary of doing this "man bad offices, becauſe I confide in him, and "he ſerves me diligently." His Majeſty added, that he had more difficulty to believe my refuſal as he agreed with himſelf to give this money to the Swiſs. Sancy ſupported his aſſertion by the teſtimony of La-Charron, whom he had brought along with him. The King, ſuſpecting ſome new inſtance

inſtance of malignity, ordered Biart, one of his grooms of the bedchamber, to go and fetch me.

As ſoon as he ſaw me, he aſked me what had happened between Sancy and me. "I am going "to tell you, Sire," replied I boldly: and accordingly, without fearing the reſentment of the terrible Sancy, I related all that had paſſed, in a way that might have mortified his vanity. Sancy, who was not of a temper to yield, became more inſolent than before, and aſſuming an imperious tone, an altercation ſo ſpirited enſued between us, although in the King's preſence, that his Majeſty was obliged to command us to be ſilent. That inſtant, ceaſing to ſpeak to my adverſary, I turned towards the King, and intreated him to give me no ſuperior in affairs wherein I acted ſolely by his order. The gallery at Saint-Ouen, where this ſcene paſſed, was crouded with a great number of perſons, who generally being weary of Sancy's inſolence, rejoiced to ſee him ſuffer this little mortification. "It would have been very "difficult," ſaid ſome, as I was afterwards informed, "for two ſuch geniuſes to have exerci- "ſed the ſame employment, without one of them "being ſupplanted by the other; but in the hu- "mour the King is in at preſent, the beſt œ- "conomiſt will be his choice." Others beheld my increaſe of favour with envy; and others, who probably had very little regard for either of us, laughed at the novelty of the ſight, and cried, "There is one hot-headed man, who has met with "another that will not eaſily yield to him."

The report of the great ſums with which I had filled the King's coffers was no ſooner ſpread, than I was overwhelmed with the demands of an infinite number of his creditors, moſt of whom were ſent by the gentlemen of the council; who thro' impatience to ſee it diſſipated ſoon, agreed with the creditors to have the uſual draw-backs upon their debts.

debts. My principal view in raiſing this money being to make a fund for thoſe military expeditions which the King was ſhortly to begin, without his being obliged to load the people with new taxes, I was reſolved not to ſuffer it to be ſquandered away; and therefore reſiſted all their importunities, and continued unmoved by their inſolence and threats. But reflecting afterwards, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for ſending home the eight receivers general, who alone were acquainted with the uſes to which I put this money, I was afraid of giving too much advantage to calumny by keeping ſo large a ſum in my poſſeſſion after their departure; and I reſolved to ſend it to the royal treaſury. The King, who thought his money was no where ſecure but in my hands, endeavoured ſeveral times to vanquiſh my ſcruples; but in vain: I was determined to prevent the leaſt ſuſpicion upon this occaſion, and therefore confided it to the care of the two treaſurers, Morfontaine and Gobelin. I removed his Majeſty's fears by promiſing him that I would obſerve ſo carefully how this money was laid out, that he ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt loſs. I ſeparated, in the preſence of the receivers, thoſe ſums that were neceſſary for the payment of the army, the expence of a train of artillery of twenty pieces of cannon, with double equipages, a ſufficient quantity of powder, beſides a convoy of other implements neceſſary for a ſiege, ſuch as pick-axes, &c. which I cauſed to be carried to Amiens. I likewiſe laid aſide fifty thouſand crowns more for the King's privy purſe, out of which he generally beſtowed preſents, unknown to the Catholics, on many old officers and Proteſtant ſoldiers who had ſerved him faithfully in his wars. The remainder, which I calculated with the greateſt exactneſs, amounted ſtill to four hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and I carefully preſerved both my former accounts, and thoſe relating to

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the ſums that were taken from the total. But being deſirous of having a ſecond proof of what the gentlemen of the council and their receivers-general were capable of. I affected great negligence concerning the diſpoſal of the money; and when the receivers came to me, before they ſet out for their offices, to demand a copy of my accounts, I replied, that having no longer any concern about a ſum that was now under the care of other perſons, and they having been witneſſes themſelves of the uſes to which the money had been applied, I had deſtroyed theſe papers, as having now no further occaſion for them. Of this the receivers did not fail to inform their maſters.

A month was paſſed ſince the money was carried to the treaſury, during which time they made ſome payments out of it, of which I likewiſe pretended to keep no account: but here it was not poſſible to commit a miſtake; for no ſums being paid without a warrant from the council, all that was neceſſary was, to keep an exact memorandum of it, which I did. Theſe warrants in a ſhort time amounted to fifty thouſand crowns, and conſequently there was ſtill four hundred thouſand in the treaſury. The King, however, ſome days after, demanding two hundred thouſand crowns to be ſent to Amiens, where the deſigned preparations were already made, particularly for the taking of Hedin, Sancy and the reſt replied, that they believed this ſum was ſtill in the treaſury, and that was all; and ſending for D'Incarville, who was likely to know beſt, having the care of the regiſters, he aſſured the King that there was hardly two hundred thouſand crowns in his coffers. His Majeſty, to whom I had ſaid three days before that there was ſtill four hundred thouſand crowns remaining, was extremely ſurpriſed; but their aſſertions were ſo poſitive that they forced his belief; and he told me that I muſt certain-

ly be miſtaken. I was ſo ſure of the contrary, that I mentioned before D'Incarville himſelf, and all my colleagues, whom his Majeſty had ſent for, that there was a miſtake of one half of the money. D'Incarville replied, that his regiſters were more certain than my memory; and offered to bring, the next day, an extract of all his payments. I perceived from whence ſo great a ſecurity proceeded, and I was reſolved to ſuffer them, till the laſt moment, to flatter themſelves that they were going to gain a complete victory over me. I had courage enough to conceal, even from the King, the ſtratagem I had made uſe of, and to endure, without reply, his reproaches, for letting this ſum go out of my hands, contrary to his order.

The accounts were brought the next day, well atteſted, and no miſtake was found in the diſburſements; that would have been too palpable: the whole miſtake lay in the receipts, which was founded upon their full perſuaſion that I had really deſtroyed the papers which proved the quantity and quality of the coin carried at different times to the royal treaſury. I ſecretly reflected with aſtoniſhment on the ſubtilty with which they had acted with regard to theſe receipts, ſo as to involve them in an obſcurity impenetrable to any one who was not poſſeſſed of a full proof of their falſehood, and with what art they had given to this obſcurity an air of truth, and even of conviction. I aſked to ſee the receipts, with a feigned ill-humour, which ſeemed to theſe gentlemen a confeſſion of my defeat. The council offered to make the receivers-general depoſe upon oath the numbers and contents of the carriages which had been ſent to the royal treaſury. I replied, that the diſcuſſion would be too tedious. D'Incarville, who took great advantages of my diſſembled perplexity, told me, that I might go and examine the regiſters of the finances upon the ſpot, ſince

they could not be moved out of the offices. Although I eaſily comprehended that theſe regiſters, public and authoriſed as they were, might ſtill be counterfeited like the reſt, yet I could not imagine the manner in which it was done, the receipt for each of the carriages being ſigned by D'Arnaud and De L'Hote, whoſe hand writing I knew: I had therefore a curioſity to ſee theſe regiſters: all appeared very exact, and in the uſual forms. The gentlemen of the council began then to inſult over me, and they made a very bad uſe of their ſuppoſed advantages.

I now thought it time to ſilence them, and to cover them in their turn with a real confuſion. Accordingly, I produced the notes and accounts ſigned by the eight receivers-general; and likewiſe an exact memorandum of all the warrants of payment. That inſtant all their arrogance vaniſhed, and they would have been reduced to the neceſſity of confeſſing their roguery, had they not bethought themſelves of a contrivance to avoid it; but ſo groſs a one, as ſtill left them, in my opinion, all the diſgrace. A clerk, inſtructed by D'Incarville, came to the King, and told him, that L'Hote, who kept the key of the hall where the regiſter lay, being abſent one day when one of the moſt conſiderable of the carriages was brought to the treaſury, and the receivers who conducted it being in haſte to return, he thought it would be ſufficient to mark the ſum contained in the carriage, upon a looſe ſheet of paper, intending to get it afterwards reviſed, and ſigned by D'Incarville, and inſerted in the regiſters; but that he himſelf afterwards going to Heudicourt, it had ſlipt out of his memory; for which he intreated his Majeſty's pardon. The King contented himſelf with ſlightly reprimanding him for his neglect, ordering more care to be taken of the regiſters for the future. Then going towards the Conſtable

Conſtable (who was at the end of the gallery where all this had paſſed, and who in the whole affair had appeared more favourable to the gentlemen of the council than to me) he cried out to him at a diſtance, in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, that his money was found, and that he would make it known for once whom he was to entruſt.

Amidſt theſe contentions came the day appointed for the meeting of the ſtates of the kingdom, or rather of the aſſembly of notables; for ſo they were called. The reaſon of adopting this name *, inſtead of that of the ſtates of the kingdom, which ſhould naturally have been uſed, aroſe wholly from the lawyers and financiers, who perceiving, that at this time they had riches and influence to give them ſuch a ſuperiority to the other claſſes, as they were unwilling any but the clergy ſhould ſhare with them, diſdained to ſee themſelves leveled with the people by one common denomination; which yet muſt have been the caſe, if the forms uſed in theſe aſſemblies, and particular-

* Pereſixe ſays, that it is becauſe the King had not time to aſſemble the ſtates together: "The Kings, (ſays Aubigné, with his "uſual malevolence,) have recourſe to ſuch ſorts of aſſemblies, when "thoſe of the ſtates-general are tedious, difficult, or ſuſpected by "them. The deſign of aſſembling theſe little ſtates being to find "money to carry on the war againſt Spain, there were ſeveral "ſchemes propoſed and agreed to; the pancarte, or old rate, was "the chief, which was but very ill received in many places of the "kingdom," &c. Tom. 3. l. 4. c. 14. De Thou ſays very little of it. l. cxvii. and Davila no more. All that is ſaid in theſe Memoirs about this aſſembly is found, ſo far as I know, no where elſe: and in order to render it the more intelligible, I have taken the liberty which I have deſired in the preface to this work, and that was, to compare with each other all the thoughts that the compilers of M. de Sully's manuſcripts have made uſe of in their memoirs, without any order of connexion. As we may well ſuppoſe that they were all mutually connected, and had each their proper object in the mind of this great ſtateſman, it entirely coincides with his views, to apply them to the ſubjects to which they naturally belong. And all that can be deſired is, I think, never to alter the ſubſtance of the thoughts in my original; to which I have principally applied myſelf.

ly the diſtinction of the three orders, had been preſerved. They, indeed, made their appearance with magnificence and ſplendor, which ſunk the nobility, the ſoldiers, and other members of the ſtate, below conſideration, ſince they were not able to dazle the eyes with ſplendid equipages, the glitter of gold, nor a long train of attendants; things which will always draw the envy, the reverence, and the worſhip, of the vulgar; or, more properly, will be a laſting proof of our folly and depravity.

Such, in general, is the notion that ought to be formed of great and auguſt aſſemblies. Thoſe men of whom one imagines, that they muſt come thither with minds full of wiſdom and public ſpirit, warm with all the zeal that animated the ancient legiſlators, commonly think on no other buſineſs than how to make a ridiculous diſplay of their pomp, and ſhew their effeminacy to moſt advantage. The diſunion of the bodies which compoſe theſe aſſemblies, the diſſentions, oppoſitions of intereſt, deſire to over-reach each other, intrigues, and confuſion, which compoſe the true notion of them, have their original from the ſame hateful cauſe, as well as the meanneſs there diſcovered in the proſtitution of eloquence. By what fatality does it then happen, that what improvements one age makes in knowledge above preceding times, are never applied to the advancement of virtue, but always to the refinement of vice?

By all this there is no intention to inſinuate, that in theſe aſſemblies there may not be found a ſmall number of men of great abilities and great virtues, men whoſe qualities no body diſputes; but inſtead of being forced into public notice, they are treated with an affectation of negligence and contempt, which ſink them into ſilence, and with them ſuppreſs the voice of the public good. Thus long experience has ſhewn, that an aſſembly of

of these states rarely produces the good that might be expected: for, in order to answer such expectations, the members ought to be equally instructed in true and honest policy; at least, ignorance and knavery should be silent in the presence of the few of knowledge and integrity: but such is always the character of multitudes, that for one wise man, there are many fools, and presumption is the first attribute of folly; it is here more than any where, that great virtues, instead of exciting respect and emulation, provoke hated and envy.

Besides, if the prince that holds these assemblies is powerful, and fond of power, he will easily defeat their schemes, or crush them into silence; but, if he is weak, and unacquainted with his own rights, an unbounded licentiousness of debate will soon sink the kingdom into all the miseries that naturally follow the depression of the royal authority. Necessity therefore requires, that there should be, both in the sovereign and the subjects, a complete knowledge of their several rights, and mutual obligations. The first law of a sovereign is, that he should keep the law; for he has himself two sovereigns, God and the law: justice ought to preside on his throne, and gentleness to support it. God is the true owner of kingdoms, and monarchs are but the ministers, who ought to exhibit to the people a true copy of the perfections of him in whose place they stand; and remember, that they do not govern like him but when they exercise their power like fathers. In hereditary monarchies, there is an hereditary mistake: the sovereign is master of the life and property of his subjects, and by the means of these words, *Such is our pleasure*, is dispensed from giving the reasons of his conduct, and from having any reasons to give. Supposing this were really the right of a king, is it not the utmost degree of imprudence, to incur voluntarily the hatred of those who must every moment have his life in their hands? And

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hated he muſt certainly be, who forces a conceſſion of power, with a previous declared intention to abuſe it.

With regard to ſubjects, the firſt law which religion, reaſon, and nature preſcribe them, is obedience; their duty is, to reverence, honour, and fear their princes, as repreſentatives of the ſupreme Governor, who may be ſaid to appear viſibly on earth by theſe his miniſters, as he appears in heaven by the orbs of light. Theſe duties they are to pay from a principle of gratitude, for the ſecurity and advantages they enjoy under the protection of the royal authority: for the calamity of having an unjuſt, ambitious, and arbitrary king, they have no other remedy but that of ſoftening him by ſubmiſſion, and propitiating God by prayer. All grounds of reſiſtance, however ſolid they may be thought, will appear, upon a careful examination, to be nothing more than artful and ſubtle pleas for diſloyalty; nor has it been found, that by oppoſition princes have been reformed, or taxes aboliſhed; but to the calamities which gave room for complaints, has been added a new degree of miſery, as may be found by inquiring into the ſentiments of the lower people, and particularly thoſe of the country.

Such are the principles upon which the mutual happineſs of governors and ſubjects might eaſily be fixed, if in general aſſemblies of the nation, each party appeared fully convinced of the truth of theſe maxims: but ſuppoſing this the caſe, there would ſtill be leſs need of general aſſemblies, to which recourſe is never had but when there is ſome diſagreement between the members and the head. It may, however, be concluded, that, as theſe aſſemblies are at preſent uſeleſs, both on account of the occaſions on which they are called, and of the methods in which they proceed, ſo they might be of great efficacy for the ſupport of regularity and general

general virtue, if the prince, acting as the real head of united members, would call them with no other purpose, than to oblige those who lay down their employments to give an account of their administration, in the face of the kingdom, and to chuse, with wisdom and discernment, those by whom their places are to be supplied; animating them to a due discharge of their offices by his exhortations, and by a public distribution of praise and blame, punishments and rewards *.

Henry, while he waited for the meeting of the assembly, took a journey to Arques, Dieppe, and Caudebec, &c. that he might have a sight of the places where so many memorable actions had been performed, and I accompanied him to all those places.

On his Majesty's return to Rouen, he opened the assembly by a speech, uttered with a dignity becoming a great prince, and a sincerity with which princes are unacquainted: he declared that, to avoid all appearance of violence or compulsion, he had determined not to call an assembly of deputies, named by the King, and blindly obsequious to all his inclinations, but that he admitted at large persons of all ranks and conditions, that men of knowledge and merit might have an opportunity to propose, without fear, whatever they thought necessary for the public good; that, at that time, he would not attempt to confine them by any limitations, but enjoined them not to make an ill use of this freedom, by any attempt to lessen the sovereign authority, which is the chief strength of the kingdom; and exhorted them to establish union among their members, to give ease to the people, to clear the royal treasury from debts, which, though it was liable in

* There cannot, I think, any thing be added to the justness of these sentiments. And we need only remit hither those who, with Comines, Boulainvillers, &c. have taken the side of the states, and the aristocratical party.

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them, it never had contracted; to shew their justice in reducing exorbitant salaries, without lessening those that were necessary; and to settle, for times to come, a fund clear of incumbrances, sufficient for the support of the army.

He added, that it should be no objection to him, that the measures proposed were not of his own contrivance, provided he found them dictated by justice, and public spirit: that they should not find him pleading his age, his experience, or personal qualities, as an exemption from any just regulations, though princes often made excuses far less defensible: but that he would shew, by his example, that it was no less the business of kings to enforce edicts, than of subjects to obey them *.

Henry rose after this speech, declaring that neither he nor his council would be present at their consultations, that they might be wholly freed from constraint; and accordingly went out with all his counsellors, leaving only me to lay before the assembly such accounts, memoirs, and public papers, as were necessary for their information.

When I gave an account of the last assembly of these estates at Paris, I spoke at large of their methods of proceeding, and the forms used in those great and numerous assemblies; and shall therefore only observe, at present, that, excepting the subject of their deliberations, this assembly exactly resem-

* "If I were desirous, says he, to pass for an elaborate orator, I "would have introduced here more fine words than good will: but "my ambition aims at something higher than to speak well: I aspire to the glorious titles of the deliverer and restorer of France. "I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to "oblige you blindly to approve of my will and pleasure; I have caused "you to be assembled, in order to receive your councils, to depend "upon them, and to follow them; in short, to put myself into your "hands as my guardians: this is a declaration which is not very "common for kings, for grey hairs, or for conquerors, like me, to "make; but the love which I bear my subjects, and the extreme "fondness which I have to preserve my state, have made me find "every thing easy and every thing honourable." Peref. part 2.

bled the former. As they were now neceſſarily to come to ſome concluſion, particularly with relation to the ſubſidies, and the method of raiſing them, they could think of nothing better to be done, than to make a collection of old uſeleſs regulations of a nature contrary to the preſent ſtate of affairs. For, inſtead of conſidering, that the nation ought to be treated as a body afflicted with ſome new and extraordinary diſtemper, and therefore requiring an uncommon remedy, and that in proportion as its mechaniſm is better known, the operations performed upon it ought to be altered; ſuch is the force of prejudice, that men continue obſtinately to endeavour the cure of their preſent diſorders by means of which the inefficacy is demonſtrated by their inability to prevent the evils, or to ſtop their progreſs. An injudcious reverence for antiquity, a falſe notion of cauſes, occaſioned by the diſtance of time; a want of diligent reflection on the paſt, and of clear views of the future, about which our ſelf love hinders us from coming to any agreement, all contribute to perpetuate the wrong meaſures of ancient times. It is a maxim with ſome, that laws and cuſtoms are not to be changed; a maxim to which I zealouſly adhere, except when the advantage, and what is much ſtronger, the neceſſity of the public * requires their alteration.

Accordingly

* The genius of the French nation, they ſay, is ſuch, that this alone renders all change, even the moſt uſeful and neceſſary, extremely dangerous for us: a ſyſtem, whoſe foundation it ſeems all the world at this day, agrees was excellent, and which, notwithſtanding this, has had very troubleſome conſequences, makes us inſiſt more than ever upon this conſideration. The Duke de Sully, who lived at a time in which he did not want for proofs of the defect objected to the nation, would have anſwered to this, that two things are abſolutely neceſſary in any nation whatever, in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of ſuch ſort of enterpriſes: the firſt is an authority in the legiſlator, ſufficiently great not to be obliged to change, or abate the leaſt title of his plan through fear, policy, or compliance; the ſecond, is a wiſdom equally great, to prepare all the means for putting it in execu-

Accordingly they beſtowed their time and pains with raking old regulations and ſtatutes out of the duſt, and went on ſtill enlarging the collection, which they found already to be of no value, till an impoſſibility came full in their view, and deſtroyed their project; for it appeared that theſe old conſtitutions were adapted to a form of government in which royalty, though decorated with a ſpecious title, was a ſtate of ſervitude; and could therefore not be applied to a time when the public intereſt had concentered in a ſingle perſon the authority which was formerly diſtributed amongſt great numbers, and eſtabliſhed monarchy as the ſureſt foundation of general ſecurity.

This fancy was followed by another, which held them for a time by ſome ſpecious appearances, though, in effect, it was no leſs inconvenient than the former. This was the eſtabliſhment of a new council, which they thought it proper to denominate the council of reaſon, whoſe members ſhould be firſt named by the aſſembly, and afterwards by the ſovereign courts. But there was already a council of this kind, and that very council had been apparently the cauſe of the diſorders in the finances, and the abject poverty of the nation. This ſignified nothing; the whole multitude ſuffered themſelves to be ſo dazzled by a fine name, and a new choice, that it was propoſed and agreed to make the ſame evil its own remedy. It was deter-

tion. Amidſt a great number of real changes that have been made in the different parts of the government, which will be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe memoirs, we may obſerve a ſtill greater number of projects which have not been executed, though formed a great while ago: and what is the reaſon? Why, becauſe Henry the great and his miniſter watched and waited for the proper conjunctures and circumſtances, &c. which ſhould render them certain and infallible. I will not ſcruple to ſay, that perfect ſkill conſiſts not in imagining, but in knowing, the hazards that proceed from too great precipitation, and too great ſlowneſs, to be aware of the proper opportunity; and in ſhort, to know how to conduct and how to prepare for it.

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mined that the new council ſhould divide the King's revenue into two parts, which they eſtimated, without much examination, at thirty millions of livres*; that they ſhould keep one half in their own hands, for the diſcharge of arrears, penſions, ſalaries, and other public debts and engagements; and that out of the ſame ſum they ſhould repair or erect cities, buildings, roads, or other public works; and that of this ſum neither the King nor the ſovereign court ſhould have power to take cognizance, or examine the application. It may eaſily be imagined, how the members of the council flattered their rapacity by a diſpoſal ſo abſolute and unaccountable of half the revenues of the ſtate: let us for a moment ſuppoſe them diſhoneſt in their management, what numbers muſt be diſtreſſed, what confuſion and ruin muſt enſue!

The other part was left to the King, to be managed by him, or his miniſters, with equal exemption from account. This ſhare was burthened with all the expences of the artillery and fortifications, all foreign affairs, embaſſies, and negotiations, the ſupport of his houſhold, his buildings, and his equipage, the payment of his officers, and his privy purſe. Neither party was confined by any preſcriptions, as to the manner of raiſing or managing either ſhare of the revenue; ſo they preſerved that mutual independence on which the projectors valued themſelves; as if the ſtrength of the kingdom did not depend upon the power of aſſiſting, according to their reſpective need, any of the parts that ſhould happen to be in diſtreſs, and ſupplying

* The author has reaſon to ſay that this computation is not exact, ſince, notwithſtanding the augmentation of the King's revenues, and the clearing of his debts that happened under his miniſtry, and which may be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe memoirs to amount to a very conſiderable ſum. Cardinal Richelieu did not value the whole revenues of the ſtate, after all the alterations which he himſelf had made, at more than thirty five millions. Teſt. Pol. part 2. p. 152.

the diſeaſed, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with the ſuperfluous blood of thoſe that are more ſound.

As the thirty millions at which the royal revenues have been rated, were ſuſpected to be ſomewhat more than their real value, they reſolved to create a new tax, by laying five *per cent.* * upon all merchandiſes †, and proviſions bought and ſold in the kingdom, by wholeſale or retail. When they computed the amount of the trade of particular perſons, and the expences of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, they concluded that this new tax might ſafely be rated at five millions; and the happy notion was bleſt a thouſand times though in reality the ſcheme was no leſs chimerical than the new computation was erroneous ‡.

When the aſſembly had thus brought their ſcheme in all its branches to perfection, they ſent it by their deputies to the King, who received the propoſal in his council. The indignation raiſed by this project inſtantly appeared by ſuch a confuſion of outcries and murmurs, that the King had great difficulty to make the council give their opinions one by one. The field of diſcuſſion was boundleſs; every man was made eloquent by vexation and reſentment. When my turn came, I ſatisfied myſelf with ſaying coolly, that I had nothing to add to

* We have ſeen a tranſlation of theſe memoirs which uniformly renders *ſou pour livre*, "a penny in the ſhilling," which is a twelfth part, whereas a ſou is only the twentieth part of a livre.

† Corn was the only thing that was exempted.

‡ M. de Sully thinks and ſpeaks of the eſtabliſhing a ſou in the livre, or ſhilling in the pound, as almoſt the whole world thought and ſpoke of it at that time. Le Grain nevertheleſs gives his ſuffrage to this tax, l. 6 Matthieu does not condemn it; and what is of greater weight, Cardinal Richelieu finds it to be ſo much the more juſt as it is eſtabliſhed, ſays he, in divers other ſtates, and had been already reſolved on by a body of the ſtates, under Francis I. However, the difficulties and inconveniencies which M. de Sully mentions in the ſequel are real, and partly the ſame which made Richelieu be the firſt entirely to diſſuade Lewis XIII. from eſtabliſhing it. Teſt. Pol. p. 2 c. 9. § 7.

ſuch

ſuch fine harangues. The King, who obſerved me attentively, and wondered at my caution, reſolved to have a private converſation with me before he gave the ſuffrage which was to determine for or againſt the aſſembly's ſcheme; he therefore adjourned the conſideration of the affair till the morrow, in the preſence of the ſame perſons. As ſoon as we were alone, he aſked me with eagerneſs the reaſon of my ſilence; and I offered to his conſideration the following obſervations.

It is certain, that the aſſembly were ſo infatuated with their new ſcheme, that if the King ſhould follow the opinion of his council, and reject it with ſcorn, he would expoſe himſelf to the danger of a general diſſatisfaction; the more dangerous becauſe the ſtates aſſembled acknowledged no ſuperior, nor allowed that even the King had power to alter their deciſions. One of the moſt important maxims of monarchical government is, that the King ſhould take care not to reduce his ſubjects to acts of diſobedience, or even to words of diſreſpect; beſides, the King would directly break the word by which he had promiſed the aſſembly to conform himſelf to their reſolutions: and to conclude, all they who contrived, or had adopted the ſcheme, would make the rejection of it by the King an argument, by which they would convince themſelves, that this was the true ſcheme of affairs, till by an attempt to put it in execution they were cured of their notion, and would inſinuate, that only their Prince had prevented them from ſeeing that practice eſtabliſhed in France, which had been for ſo long a time deſired. Every body knows, that it is the diſpoſition of the people, eſpecially of thoſe that have ſpirit and reſentment, to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of their ſovereign's meaſures.

On the other ſide, it was equally certain that this project was at once deſtructive in its tendency, and impracticable in its execution; to give a full con-

conviction of this, the leaſt knowledge of the finances was ſufficient. Beſides the obſtructions which I have juſt been mentioning, how many more muſt ariſe from the competitions which would be produced by an election of the members of the council, who were to be taken equally from all the provinces of the kingdom? No ſooner could this ſcheme, which was now only ſketched out, be branched into particulars, than that appearance of impartiality and juſtice, by which the conduct of public affairs muſt be neceſſarily thrown into the hands of new and unexperienced men, would occaſion innumerable miſcalculations and miſtakes. It was apparent that the heads of the new council would immediately grow giddy, and that all the meaſures they would take would be only blunder accumulated on blunder.

From the impoſſibility that any advantage ſhould ariſe from this ſcheme, I drew my arguments to perſuade the King to conſent to it; by which he would obtain, in the eyes of his people, the honour of falling readily into the meaſures which they themſelves had propoſed; and this condeſcenſion would be ſo far from leſſening the royal authority, that when the new council had made the melancholly experiment of their ſtrength, he would ultimately receive this advantage, that all the parts of the finances would return into his own hands more exempted from dependence. As the calculation of the royal revenues was made by the aſſembly, and the council ſelected from it, it would be ſuppoſed that they had taken in all neceſſary conſiderations relating to thoſe payments, of which the collection was moſt difficult and expenſive: they could not therefore take it amiſs, that the King choſe his fifteen million out of that part which he liked beſt. Chuſing for his part the revenue of the five great farms, Eſcheats and Caſual-rents, Crown-lands and Subſidies, or Royal Aids, he might expect, without

without presumption, to see them doubled, if not trebled, in a short time. This I spoke with full confidence, because I had already provided myself of responsible people, who had engaged to take these farms at a considerable advance. With respect to that which remained in the hands of the council of reason, the case was quite otherwise; and I would have been bound to the king, that the five *per cent.* amongst others, would not, when all expences were defrayed, bring in above two hundred thousand crowns clear money.

The reason why I did not give this opinion openly in the council, was, because I thought it proper that it should seem to come from the King himself. The King, after having heard me with great attention, was afraid lest my advice should bring him into difficulties, and into a mistake in some sort irretrievable; but having considered my reasons very seriously, he resolved to follow my opinion.

When the council met next day, they gave their votes as the day before, and I voted in the same side. The King declared that he could not follow their advice, left them in the utmost astonishment, and went in to the assembly, where he declared, in strong terms, that finding himself disposed to promote, with all his power, the inclinations of so wise a body, he received their scheme without any qualification or restriction, which he considered as consisting of three articles; the erection of an independent council, the division of the public revenues, and the raising a tax of five *per cent.*; that the assembly had nothing to do but in twenty four hours to name the council; to give in a schedule of the thirty millions, that he might chuse his own share: and that they should see, by his conduct, whether he or the council were the better œconomists. The goodness and compliance of the King were loudly praised; and the council finding itself concluded by a determination so unanimous, which left

left no farther room for debate, at leaſt between the King and his ſubjects, thought of nothing but returning to Paris, there to conclude this maſterpiece of policy.

The new council was not formed with ſo little diſturbance as had been expected; that change of temper which retarded the election was ſo great, that people of penetration ſaw from that moment how chimerical a ſcheme had been embraced by the multitude. The nomination was at laſt completed, in which the clergy were very buſy from the firſt; and the Cardinal de Gondy, famous for his œconominal abilities, was put at its head, as if public affairs was to be adminiſtered by the ſame rules as thoſe of a private houſe. The council of reaſon held their meetings regularly in the epiſcopal palace, where the Cardinal had aſſigned them an apartment.

But no ſooner had they begun to lay papers upon the table for the collection of the payments of the enſuing year 1597, but theſe new money-mongers were ſo much perplexed, that they knew not on which ſide to turn them. The farther they went the more the labyrinth was perplexed; they found no body that would undertake for the five *per cent.*; the farmers aſked for other funds, but at a diſcount which put them quite at a loſs; and to add to their vexation, the buſineſs could not be put off: all the penſioners of the ſtate came upon them, and talked of nothing but millions to people that had not yet got a ſingle farthing. Chagrin and vexation ſoon broke the unanimity of the new council; they began immediately to quarrel, and reproach one another with ignorance and raſhneſs.

The thing was come, in a few weeks, to this paſs, that the council of reaſon could do nothing reaſonably; and they were forced to apply to D'Incarville and me, and begged of us to come, at leaſt once a week, and give them ſuch council as we

gave the King, whose part of the revenue they saw growing and flourishing day after day. I excused myself on account of my employ, which took me up altogether. They then addressed the King; who, with his ordinary goodness, commanded me to go: but I did not forget, on that occasion, what was necessary to his service. I lamented the state of the affairs of the council; I found no means of extrication, and I helped forward nothing but perplexity. In short, scarce three months had passed before these profound politicians, being at the end of all their art, and sinking under their burden, went to the King to beg to be discharged. The King, who I believe began to like this new regulation that set him at ease, told them that every thing was difficult at first; advised them to take heart, and sent them away confuted by their own reasons. But they soon came back, and changed their intreaties to importunity; confessed that they had been in the wrong when they undertook to govern the kingdom, and shewed a thousand times more satisfaction on their dismission from their employment, than at their advancement to it.

This burden fell upon me, as an addition to that with which I was already loaded, and my labour was so great, that it required both my days and nights. As I had a kind of passion for the re-establishment of the finances, I made prodigious advances in the ancient registers of the council of state, the parliaments, the chambers of accounts, and the courts of aids, and even in the private accounts of the former secretaries of state, for the new ones would not communicate theirs. I did the same thing in the offices of the treasurers of France, in the treasury chamber, and in the papers of the treasurers of the exchequer *: I raked even into that

* "Rosny before he entered upon his office of superintendent, had "furnished himself with all the necessary informations, the better

that vaſt collection where all the ordonnances are kept inſcribed. Having a deſign to draw up a general ſtate of the finances for the year 1595, which was the end of all my reſearches, I thought it fit to neglect nothing, that I might come as near as was poſſible, in the firſt year of my management, to the exactneſs to which I earneſtly deſired to carry it. Whatever fraud or miſtake had crept into the finances, I imagined that it could be neither ſo great nor ſo general, but I ſhould be able to prove and ſhew its original, by comparing theſe pieces which I have been mentioning, or by the inferences to be drawn from them, with a due obſervation of the different proportions of various times and alterations of affairs.

The people of the King's council were frighted at the ſight of my project, and beginning to imagine that I ſhould throw every thing open, blamed themſelves now more than ever for not having with much vigour oppoſed my admiſſion into the council. Maiſſes, to whom I muſt do this juſtice, that as ſoon as he diſcovered my intentions he joined his endeavours with mine, gave me information of their terrors and regret. To confirm them in their ſuſpicions, I declared in public, that I had obtained ſuch intelligence about the finances, that they would be preſently regulated upon another plan; and I deſired that the comptroller-general, the intendant of the finances of France, the treaſurer of the exchequer, and the receivers-general, ſhould be joined with me, in order to draw up this general ſtate of the finances, of which theſe very men were in ſuch terror. I had the care, how-

" to be enabled to acquit himſelf therein: he perfectly knew all the " revenues of the kingdom, and all the expences neceſſary in raiſing " them: he communicated all that he knew of this matter to the " King, who had in like manner ſtudied all theſe things thoroughly " himſelf." *&c.* Peref. p. 225.

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ever, to keep the pen always between my own fingers.

However, I could not this time keep myſelf clear of ſeveral conſiderable errors, nor eſcape being tricked by theſe old practitioners. I think it is no ſhame to confeſs it; this very year they gained a profit of one fifth, which is exorbitant, though infinitely leſs than their ordinary gains. I propoſed the next year to remedy both this and another miſtake which I had committed: one of the chief tricks of the financiers was, to make the expence of the current year appear to be much more than the receipt, and to anticipate the revenues of the following year; by which means the expence of the next year, and of all the reſt in ſucceſſion, was thrown into confuſion, from which theſe men drew many advantages, particularly that of appearing never to have money which was not pre-engaged long before, and of being able to alledge this excuſe to the King, and all thoſe whom they were not inclined to pay. In the ſecond place, they made uſe of that money: and, to conclude, they compounded for the old debts at a very low price, and yet charged them entire in their accounts. This negligence of mine coſt the kingdom this year two millions.

This fault I corrected the following year, during my reſidence in Britany: ſo that from that time forward the receipts and expences exactly agreed. And, in the mean time, to fill up the deficiency which my miſtake had made, I took the *parties caſuelles*, *les gabelles*, the five great farms, and the toll of the rivers, out of the hands of the Duke of Florence, who held them under the names of Gondy, Senamy, Zamet, Le-Grand, Parent, L'Argentier, and other old managers, who had no ſhare in the new finances; and I increaſed theſe farms with two millions that had been loſt by miſcomputation. The contractors for the finances, and their aſſo-

ciates of the council, were thunder-ſtruck with this laſt blow; but for this time their ſpite vented itſelf in ſmoke, the King having ſupported me for ſome time in a manner ſo conſpicuous, as ſunk them all into inactive deſpondency. The conſequence of his conduct to the aſſembly was, that he was made maſter, not only of the pretended council of reaſon, but likewiſe of his own, whoſe authority was now declining; and he had no longer reaſon to fear that his deſigns would miſcarry, as formerly, by their obſtruction.

The deſign in which he was then actually engaged, was the ſiege of Arras, which had been propoſed in the council of war, which, excepting only the ſecretary, conſiſted merely of men of action: it had there paſſed without oppoſition; but the reſolution was kept ſecret, becauſe only by concealment could we be aſſured of ſucceſs. That the commiſſaries with whom I agreed for ſupplies of all neceſſary proviſions might know nothing of the matter, I named to them a great number of cities along all the frontiers of Picardy, and Arras among the reſt, at any of which they obliged themſelves to deliver during the whole campaign, fifty thouſand loaves a-day. Santeny, Robin de Tours, Mauleville, and Lambert Chevalier de Guet d' Orleans, engaged likewiſe for the conveyance of every thing elſe, and particularly of twenty-five cannons. The contract was concluded at ſo low a price, that if the misfortune that happened at Amiens a little after, had not obliged us to draw thither the forces deſigned againſt Arras, they would have been conſiderable loſers: but as it happened, their gain was reaſonable.

BOOK IX.

THE amuſements uſual at Paris in the winter ſeaſon were no ways interrupted by the preparations that were making for war. The gentleneſs of the government ſecured the tranquillity of the public, who taſted all the ſweets of it, without any of that allay which for ſo long a time had imbittered all their pleaſures. Gallantry, ſhews, play, took up the time of the courtiers; and the King, who liked thoſe diverſions through taſte, permitted them through policy. Monſieur and Madam de Fervaques intreated me to allow of the addreſſes of Monſieur de Laval, the ſon of this lady, to my eldeſt daughter. I referred them to the King, without whoſe conſent I could not now diſpoſe of my daughter, ſince it had been propoſed by the Princeſs to marry her to Monſieur de Rohan; with whom the King being at that time offended, approved of Monſieur de Laval.

The court every day had the pleaſure of a new entertainment, from engagements of this nature, the moſt ſplendid of which was given by the Conſtable, at the ſolemnity of baptizing his ſon. This was the pretence; but it was well known, that one of the moſt beautiful young ladies of the court, and who was afterwards married to an old man, was the real object of theſe gallantries. Montmorency, amongſt all the courtiers, choſe out twelve noblemen for his ballet, who he thought would appear there with the greateſt magnificence; and prevailed upon the King to lay his commands upon me to be of this number. The elegance and propriety with which it was conducted, and which

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is the very eſſence of theſe ſort of diverſions, was ſuperior to any thing I had ever ſeen of the kind. This entertainment was univerſally allowed to have greatly excelled all that went before it: it was likewiſe the laſt, and a ſtrange diſturbance happened at the end. I retired about two in the morning, and had been an hour and a half in bed, when I ſaw Beringhen enter my chamber, with the utmoſt conſternation painted in his countenance: he could but juſt tell me that the King wanted me; and aſſure me, in anſwer to my inquiries, that no accident had happened to his perſon; for this was the firſt queſtion I aſked, and his reply comforted me beforehand for the misfortune, whatever it were, ſince I ſaw none which were abſolutely irremedible, but thoſe that threatened his life. I put on my cloaths haſtily, and ran to the Louvre, in great anxiety of mind: upon my entering the King's chamber, I ſaw him walking about very faſt, his arms folded, his head reclined, and all the marks of a deep uneaſineſs * impreſſed on his countenance. The courtiers ſtood in different corners of the room, leaning againſt the hangings, without uttering a ſingle word.

The King coming to meet me, preſſed my hand with great emotion, crying, "Ah, my friend, "what a misfortune! Amiens is taken." I confeſs, I continued immoveable, like all the reſt, at this unforſeen blow; a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well provided with every thing that was neceſſary, ſo near to Paris, and on the ſide of Picardy the on-

* "Being as it were thunderſtruck at this, and yet looking up to "heaven as he commonly does more in adverſity than proſperity, he "ſpoke aloud, This blow is from heaven! Then pauſing a little, ſaid, "I have ſufficiently acted the part of King of France, it is time now "that I aſſume the character of King of Navarre; and turning "to the Marchioneſs, who wept, we muſt quit our preſent warfare, "and take horſe to engage in another."

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ly key to the kingdom, to be taken ſo ſuddenly ere we could be informed that it was threatened with an attack; the thing was almoſt incredible, and the general conſternation appeared to be too well grounded. However, I took my reſolution immediately, and while the King, who had received this news as he was preparing to go to bed, related to me the manner in which the Spaniards, with ſome ſacks of walnuts, had ſurpriſed this important place *. I reflected that, inſtead of increaſing, to no purpoſe, the general diſmay, prudence ſuggeſted, that, in the preſent circumſtance, it was neceſſary to keep up every one's ſpirits, and to comfort the King. I therefore told him, that I had in good time juſt put the finiſhing hand to a ſcheme, by which not only Amiens, but ſeveral other places, would be reſtored to him, without much difficulty.

This hint alone ſeemed, on a ſudden, to have robbed the late misfortune of half its force; and although it did not hinder the King from reflecting on all the difficulties of an enterpriſe which might have very fatal conſequences, yet, as the aſtoniſhment the courtiers were in left them nothing to ſay, in anſwer to the King's interrogatories, but what tended to increaſe his diſquiet, his hopes were greatly raiſed by what I had ſaid,

* It was the eleventh of March. Hernand Teillo de Porto-Carero, a Spaniard, the author of this ſcheme, had diſguiſed like country men and country-women, carrying goods to market, about thirty Spaniards, who ſtopped up one of the gates of the town, and amuſed the guard, by pouring out at the entrance thereof a cart loaded with ſacks full of filberts which one of them untied; and during this time ſome Spaniſh troops, who lay concealed behind the hedges, marched up, and putting the guard to the ſword, made themſelves maſters of the town. See an account of this in all the hiſtorians under the year 1597. Hernand Teillo was killed in bravely defending this town againſt Henry IV. He uſed to ſay, that the three greateſt commanders he knew, were Henry for the conduct of a large army, the Duke of Maïenne for the ſiege of a town, and Marechal Biron for a battle. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 232.

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and he desired to know what methods they were by which I proposed to serve him. I replied, that he should be informed by the papers I had drawn up for that purpose; and I went out as if to fetch them, leaving the King at least in a more composed state of mind than I had found him. Had he been a witness of my perplexity and uneasiness, when I was alone in my closet, he would have suppressed part of those praises which he bestowed on me when I had quitted his chamber; for then it was, that, resigning myself up to reflection, I comprehended the whole extent of those misfortunes, which might be expected from the present posture of affairs. The King's treasure exhausted, not a single regiment fit for service; at the same time that there was an absolute necessity both for money and troops, in great abundance, and that without any delay.

I read over my private memoirs: I revolved in my mind all those schemes for levying money, which I had employed my leisure hours in concerting, foreseeing, that the King would have soon an occasion for them. Most of these schemes might be reduced to two different kinds; one very easy and plain, wherein all that was necessary to be done was, to augment the land-tax, and other imposts already established; the other more difficult, which consisted in contriving new sources from whence money might be drawn. The first I did not think it prudent to have recourse to, since, after all the hardships which the country-people had endured, to oppress them still more by an augmentation of taxes, the sole weight of which falls upon them, and at a time when they but just began to breath again, was to complete the ruin of the state, and to deprive the King himself, for the future, of his most fruitful, and, in one sense, his most certain resources.

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I then turned my thoughts another way, and fixed upon the following project, which was, to demand of the clergy a free gift for a year, if not for two years, and oblige them to make immediate payment; to augment the old offices with new members, four in each sovereign court, besides four masters of accounts in every chamber, two in every office in the finances, two offices of counsellor in every presidial court, an assessor in every royal tribunal, and an elect in every election; to add a third to all the officers of the finances *; to keep back half a year's payment of the arrears of sums borrowed from the contractors in the last reign; to increase the tax on salt fifteen sous a pottle, and to leave it always in that state, because such an increase would give room for the suppression of certain offices too chargeable to the public; to raise the entry of goods, and the tolls of rivers a third part by a new estimate; and, as all these measures gave us, for the most part, only the hope of money, to begin by borrowing twelve hundred thousand livres † from the richest people of the court and principal cities, and to assign them payments out of an augmentation of the gabels and five great farms; and, to supply the ready money which we should have occasion for besides, to raise a prosecution in the chamber of justice against the old contractors, who had made considerable fortunes, and oblige them to suffer a new tax, in form of a loan.

This plan was indeed of sufficient extent. However, it was not my intention, that these methods

* The offices of the finances were possessed by two persons: the first was called L'Ancien; the second who had been appointed after, was called L'Alternatif; and this third was called Triennal, because he had every third year his rotation with the other two, who alone had the privilege of reimbursing the Triennal.

† This sum makes only fifty thousand pounds Sterling; which shews the scarcity of money in those days.

ſhould be all made uſe of at once, but, being uncertain how long the war would continue, they might employ them ſucceſſively, beginning with thoſe which were the leaſt burthenſome. With regard to the troops that were neceſſary, I thought they could not do better than to raiſe them in thoſe provinces of the kingdom which had no longer any occaſion for defence. Thus I taxed the Iſle of France, by joining Bary to it, with a complete regiment; the Orleanois with Touraine was to furniſh a ſecond; and Normandy itſelf a third: theſe regiments were to conſiſt of fifteen hundred and fifty men, furniſhed and maintained by the provinces, from the day of their arrival before Amiens; becauſe theſe provinces enjoyed the right of calling the regiments by their own name, and of appointing the officers.

Five days after I carried my project to the King, with the proper eſtimates formally drawn up in thirteen papers. His Majeſty retired to examine them with me, in the preſence of D'Arambure, Lomenie, Beringhen, and L'Oſerai. When I had finiſhed reading them, I told the King, that, with theſe ſupplies, there was nothing to retard his departure for the expedition of Amiens; ſince all the neceſſary preparations for a camp in Picardy were already made in ſuch a manner, that, I durſt aſſure his Majeſty, his army would not only find there proviſion in great plenty, but likewiſe every thing requiſite for mere convenience, with the ſame eaſe, and at the ſame price as in a city. I added, that whatever reſource this ſcheme might afford the King in his preſent neceſſities, his Majeſty muſt not imagine it could be carried into execution, without increaſing the number of thoſe wounds of which France was far from being wholly cured: that he need only take a ſlight view of the immenſe debts and engagements with which the ſtate was overburdened; that, to an exhauſted ſtate, a new tax, in whatever manner diſguiſed, is always the ſame; therefore

therefore the war ſhould not be renewed, but with a view of procuring an advantageous peace, which was now become abſolutely neceſſary: and however great the public miſery was at preſent, I was fully convinced that twelve years of continued peace would be ſufficient to reſtore the kingdom to a flouriſhing condition.

I did not doubt but that, by the conduct which the King appeared diſpoſed to obſerve, the enemies, notwithſtanding the advantages they had gained, would be the firſt to wiſh for the end of the war; and at that time I freely diſcloſed a thought to the King, the juſtneſs of which was verified by the event; and this was, that the firſt overtures for a peace would be made by the King of Spain, whom policy, in that ſtate of weakneſs and incapacity to which the common courſe of nature had reduced him, would not permit to expoſe his crown to the uncertain chances of war, always to be feared, but chiefly in the beginning of a Prince's reign who was ſtill a child. I even went ſo far as to foretell, that Spain would purchaſe peace by the reſtoration of all the towns ſhe had taken from France.

My ſcheme for raiſing money was ſo much approved by the King, that he reſolved to propoſe it himſelf in full council; but he communicated it beforehand to a kind of a little council of war, compoſed of the Duke of Montpenſier, Meſſieurs de Montmorency, de Maïenne, d'Auvergne, de Biron, d'Ornano, de Bellegrade, de Saint-Luc, de Fervaques, de Roquelaure, and de Frontenac: he afterwards ſummoned an extraordinary council, to which he admited all in Paris who had a right to a place there, particularly the chief perſons of the aſſembly of Rouen, who ſtill reſided there. The King could take no happier meaſures to eſtabliſh his authority upon the weakneſs of this great aſſembly, which was now acknowledged by themſelves.

ſelves. He began with lamenting the loſs of Amiens, declaring the neceſſity there was to recover this city as ſoon as poſſible, giving in a full plan of all that was neceſſary for that purpoſe: he concluded with aſking the advice of all that were preſent, concerning the means of carrying it into execution, complaining, in order to conceal from them what he himſelf had to propoſe, that his moſt uſeful and neceſſary enterpriſes were always oppoſed by difficulties, and retarded by delays.

Here the King ſtopped, as if to wait for the deliberations of the aſſembly. Each looked upon the other without uttering a ſingle word; at length the nobles broke ſilence, but it was only to refer the affair to the financiers, who in their turn replied that it belonged wholly to the nobles. Henry urging them to deliver their opinions, ſome general propoſals for new levies were made, which were immediately oppoſed by one half of the aſſembly; and the counſellors finding their ſpeech all at one time, to ridicule, in a confuſed and diſorderly manner, whatever might be offered by either party, the King, ſeizing that moment when their animoſity was carried to ſuch a height, that there was not the leaſt probability of their coming to any agreement, drew the memorial out of his pocket, telling them, that, although he had but little experience in the affairs of the finances, yet, upon the preſent occaſion, he would offer his opinion, which he was always ready to give up for a better: he then prepared to read the paper, which threw all that were preſent into a fixed attention, and afterwards into an aſtoniſhment, that rendered them ſpeechleſs and immoveable. Henry ſuffered them to remain in this ſilence for two moments, then declaring that he underſtood it as an unanimous conſent, added, that as he had no intention to make uſe of all thoſe meaſures at one time, he would begin by borrowing the ſum of

twelve

twelve hundred thouſand livres; and exhorted the nobles and the wealthieſt perſons in the kingdom to comply voluntarily with the preſent neceſſity of the times, and depend upon his royal word, that the lenders ſhould have their principal reimburſed in the ſpace of two years, together with the intereſt. His Majeſty then brought forward the fifteen ſous upon ſalt, the eſtabliſhment of the third man in the finances, and an inquiry into the conduct of fraudulent contracters. The affair was decreed, and a decree drawn up upon that plan. We had, in a very little time, three hundred thouſand crowns voluntarily lent: the creation of the third man brought in twelve hundred thouſand, and the ſame ſum was drawn from the collectors of taxes, to whom the treaſurers of France were joined, but were ſuffered however to tax themſelves.

The council of the finances, accuſtomed to rejoice in the calamity of the people, were ſoon comforted under theſe new ſubſidies, provided they might paſs through their hands. They repreſented to the King, after having greatly commended his memorial, that the ſucceſs of it depended upon his employing perſons of great experience, ready diſpatch, and poſſeſſed of a full power to execute it. The King replied, that the perſon he was reſolved to employ ſhould be inveſted with his authority; and that, with regard to the other qualities, he pitched upon me (I was preſent at this diſcourſe) as the moſt induſtrious and moſt prudent amongſt them, although the youngeſt. He expreſſed himſelf in yet ſtronger terms to Schomberg (whom his Majeſty viſited juſt before his departure, on account of an indiſpoſition * that confined him to his bed) and to the counſellors

* Gaſpard Schomberg, Count de Nanteuil. This diſorder was a difficulty of breathing, that proceeded from the membrane that covers the

counſellors he found in the ſick Count's chamber. He told them, that as I only ſhould bear the blame, if he was not ſupplied with every thing he had occaſion for, while he employed himſelf wholly in fighting againſt his enemies, ſo he was reſolved that every thing ſhould be regulated in the council agreeable to my directions. And accordingly, before he went away, he inveſted me with his whole authority. This mortified Schomberg to ſuch a degree, that he choſe rather to go and ſerve at the ſiege, than ſee me at the head of the finances. Sancy likewiſe left the council, to hold his rank in the army as colonel of the Swiſs.

The gentlemen of the council gave me ſtill more reaſon to ſuſpect them, of which I had a proof in the affair of the third men. After having recorded the edict by which they were created, I endeavoured to raiſe as much money as was poſſible from theſe offices. And to deprive the gentlemen of the council of all means of ſerving, at a low rate, any relation or friend, as was uſual with them, I applied myſelf with as much aſſiduity to the pen, as any clerk or treaſurer *des parties caſuelles*; and not ſatisfied with uſing this precaution, I gave a note under my hand to each purchaſer, who was obliged to carry it to the treaſurer, from whom, after laying down the money, he received an acquittance, and both were to be produced to me.

All artifice becoming ineffectual, the contractors had recourſe to a method which, doubtleſs, had ſeldom failed before; they attempted to corrupt me with bribes. Robert De Tours, a very

the heart becoming oſſeous on the left ſide, as alſo ſome others of the neighbouring parts; and this was found ſo upon opening his body after his death, which happened two years afterwards. He was employed in the making the edict of Nantes, as ſhall be obſerved hereafter; and he did many other ſervices to the ſtate. M. de Thou highly commends his character and abilities, both as a warrior and as a ſtateſman.

conſiderable

conſiderable contractor, after conferring with the council, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, came to my houſe, and intreated one of my ſecretaries to procure him an interview with my wife, to whom he offered a jewel worth ſix thouſand crowns as a preſent for me, and another worth two thouſand for her, that I might not oppoſe a determination of the council, who had aſſigned to him the nomination of all the third men in the diſtricts of Tours and Orleans, for the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand crowns. He was introduced to me by Madam de Roſny, whom, by a ſevere reprimand in the contractor's preſence, I made ſenſible of the fault ſhe had committed. Nor did I ſpare him, in order to prevent ſuch attempts for the future. He left me greatly ſurpriſed, and probably as much offended at my behaviour. I had juſt been refuſing from another contractor, ſixty thouſand crowns, for one half of that of which he had before offered me ſeventy-two thouſand for the whole; and that very evening, that half brought me fourſcore thouſand crowns, becauſe I divided it into ſmall parcels.

This employment detained me at home all that day, and the following, for I thought it of more conſequence than to attend the Chancellor's ſummons, who had ſent a ſerjeant of the council twice to me, to deſire I would come thither, and finiſh an affair which would procure the King, he ſaid, ſeventy-five thouſand crowns of ready money. I went as ſoon as I was diſengaged, without thinking any more of Robert De Tours. The Chancellor, upon my entering the council-chamber, made me ſome ſlight reproaches for my negligence: I anſwered him bluntly, that I had been more uſeful to the King in my cloſet. "We "have been no leſs ſo here," returned the Chancellor, who ſought to enhance the value of the ſervice he had done the King, in procuring him

this ready money, by the neceſſity his Majeſty was in for it, having, by two letters, ſucceſſively, demanded ſome of the council. When I diſcovered that this was the money which had juſt before been offered me by the contractor of Tours, he having only added three thouſand crowns more to the ſum, I repreſented to theſe gentlemen, in very ſtrong terms, that ſince they could not be ignorant that Robert had firſt applied to me, they ought not to have concluded, without my knowledge, an affair which had appeared to me to be unjuſt.

Finding that they were endeavouring to impoſe upon me, partly by complaint, and partly by an air of authority, I told them plainly, that if I had been of a humour to be gained by bribes, the bargain would not have returned to them; but that ſince the King relied upon my fidelity, I would not fail to give him every proof of it in my power. The Chancellor, Freſne, and La-Grangeleroi, ſenſibly affected with the reproach conveyed in theſe words, had the aſſurance to mention immediately, that a bargain by which the King loſt more than half of what was due to him, was, notwithſtanding, more advantageous for him, ſince he was paid with ready money, than mine, by which I commonly allowed the purchaſers the term of ſix months for the payment of the ſecond moiety. They did not ſtop there, but reproached me with ſetting myſelf up for a reformer of the finances; and declared, with an air of contempt, that they were able to ſupport their bargain againſt mine. Upon this, growing violent, the council determined that their aſſignment to Robert de Tours ſhould take place.

I did not think proper to ſay one word more concerning this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding, nor upon the regulation that was made in conſequence of it, which was, that thenceforward the council would have no regard to particular notes.

But

But when Fayet, the ſecretary, brought me this arret to ſign, I refuſed to do ſo, till I had received the King's anſwer to a letter, in which, as I told Fayet, I had ſuppreſſed no part of the truth, nor concealed the perſons. This letter gave Fayet ſome apprehenſions, as I deſigned it ſhould; he intreated me to ſhew it him; and pretending to be overcome by his importunity, I yielded. It turned entirely upon the underhand practices which Robert had made uſe of to gain the gentlemen of the council; all which I had had the good fortune to diſcover. I likewiſe gave the King to underſtand, that this contractor had procured the favour of the council, by making to Madam de Sourdis *, miſtreſs to the Chancellor, the ſame offers which I had rejected; to which he had added other preſents to Madam de Deuilly, a relation of the Chancellor's, and Freſne's miſtreſs. Fayet repeating the contents of my letter to the perſons moſt concerned in it, they ſent him back immediately, to intreat I would not ſend it: the arret was ſuppreſſed, and Robert's bargain rejected.

In this manner I divided my labours, between the care of receiving the money of the ſtate, and laying it out advantageouſly for the neceſſities of

* Iſabel Babou de la Bourdaiſiere, the wife of Francis D'Eſcoubleau, Marquis de Sourds; ſhe had an elder ſiſter, called Frances, who was married to Antony D'Eſtrees, and Mother to the fair Gebrielle; and likewiſe a younger ſiſter, who married Claude de Beauvilliers, the Count de Saint Aignan. This whole family was ſtrangely cried down and ſatirized in the Amours du Grand Alcandre, and other ſarcaſtical libels of that time, even as far back as the grandmother of theſe three ladies, who was called *Mary Gaudin*. All the daughters of this line were remarkably beautiful. Leo X. was ſo charmed with the beauty of Mary Gaudin, at Bolonge, where he had ſeen her, when he had a conference with Francis I. that he preſented her with a diamond, called by domeſtic tradition Gaudin's Diamond. It is Amelot de la Houſſaye who ſpeaks ſo; and he has collected ſeveral ſuch like anecdotes of this whole family, to which I refer the curious reader, in the article *Babou de la Bourdaiſiere*.

the army, which wanted neither provisions not artillery during the whole time that the siege of Amiens continued. I took a journey regularly every month to the camp, carrying with me each time fifteen hundred thousand crowns; which procured me the friendship of all the principal officers, who were not accustomed to such exact payments. I extended my cares and solicitude even to the private soldiers, by establishing an hospital in the camp, so convenient, and so well attended, that several persons of quality went thither to be cured of their diseases and wounds *.

The King's solicitude for the safety of my person, which, indeed he almost carried to excess, more than compensated for all my trouble. Saint-Luc, to whom the Count de la Guiche had resigned the post of great master of the ordnance, took me with him to see his lodgments, knowing my fondness for that part of the military art: this engaged me very far in the trenches and other places in which there was some danger. The King being informed of it, gave me a severe reprimand, absolutely forbidding me to appear at any hazardous post; and said publicly on this occasion, that I had enemies even in the camp, who so eagerly desired my death, they would voluntarily expose themselves to any danger, provided I shared it with them. It was hardly possible for one who had been a soldier, not to feel his former ardour for war revive, near a prince who was equal to every military duty, and performed all with an application so unwearied, and courage so invincible, as might have animated hearts the least sensible to glory.

* D'Aubigné relates, that it was commonly said at that time, that Henry IV. had brought Paris with him before Amiens, to shew the abundance that reigned in his camp. He likewise brought his mistress to Pecquigny, at which the Marechal de Biron and other general officers murmured very much.

His

His example, however, did not produce the same effect upon all. In the very midst of his camp, a cabal of mutinous Protestants was formed, headed by Messieurs de la Tremouille, de Bouillon, and du Plessis, which gave him great uneasiness. Going to pay my respects to him, before I returned again to Paris, I found him in deep affliction: he had just received certain intelligence, that these three gentlemen, in concert with the two Saint-Germains, De-Clan and De-Beauprè, * D'Aubigné, La-Case, La-Valliere, La-Saussaie, La Bertichere, Preaux, Bassignac, Regnac, Bessais, Constant, and other Protestants, to the number of twenty, had held an assembly of the whole body of Protestant bigots, wherein they had made a proposal, which they supported with all the power and influence they had, to take advantage of the opportunity the siege of Amiens † afforded them, which could not be carried

* This is the historian D'Aubigné who is always called *D'Aubigny* in these memoirs: his name is Theodore-Agrippa D'Aubigné; his birth, his services, and his courage, gained him great reputation among the Calvinist party: he retired in 1620 to Geneva, where he died in 1631, aged fourscore, leaving behind him only one son, called Constans D'Aubigné, whose daughter was Frances D'Aubigné the late Marchioness de Maintenon, Addius de Choumont, Segneur de la Bertichere, brother to John de Chaumont, the Marquis de Guitry; his posterity is still extant to this day. Hector de Preaux, &c.

† It is certain that it was by this conjuncture of the siege of Amiens, and the several steps which the Calvinists of France took to make their advantage of it, that they obtained the famous edict of Nantes, which was granted them the year following. The Duke de Bouillon does not deny this. All the reasons by which he justifies this conduct, may be seen in Marsolier, l. 5. but the best of all is the protest which he and Du Plessis Mornai make, that whatever might apparently be the view of the Calvinists in these assemblies at Saumur, Loudun, and Vendôme, that were called together immediately after one another, and conducted with a great deal of warmth, neither they nor the other heads of the party ever had an intention of deliberating therein upon taking up arms, but only amicably to endeavour to obtain equitable conditions. We could wish, solely for the entire justification of the Duke de Bouillon, that there had not been reason to upbraid him for refusing to follow the King in his expedition to Amiens; and that the surprise of this town

carried on without their assistance, to force an edict from the King entirely to their satisfaction; or, if he refused, to do themselves justice, by taking up arms against him. Happily for the King, this proposal was objected to by many persons in the assembly, as well as in some of the great towns, which they had endeavoured to draw over to their party. His Majesty was a little comforted by this circumstance, but he had reason to apprehend, that the most violent party would carry it at last. He commanded me to write to some of the principal among them, to prevail upon them, if possible, to resume more reasonable sentiments, and particularly the Duke de La Tremouille, whom he knew to be the chief promoter of the conspiracy.

Hitherto I had preserved some degree of intimacy with La-Tremouille, insomuch that he thought himself obliged to require my presence in these assemblies, but concealed the occasion of them; and in his letter to me made use of such ambiguous terms, as it was not difficult to judge, that I was considered by these gentlemen as a man unfaithful to his own party; and that La-Tremouille was not far from engaging in an open rebellion. This did

by the Spaniards had not been followed, on the party of the Calvinists, by a translation of the Protestant assembly of Vendôme to Châtelleraut, where the proceedings were so violent, that the King was obliged to send thither M. de Schomberg, de Thou, de Vic, de Calignon, and de Montglat, who were charged with full powers to offer such conditions as sufficiently shew, that Henry IV. thought he had every thing to fear from them. The reasons why the Calvinists have filled Europe with their complaints about the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is because the intervention of a space of time of upwards of fourscore years, has made them lose sight of the means they made use of at first to extort it. As to the above remark, consult the memoirs of the Duke de Bouillon, his history by Marsolier: the hist. of the edict of Nantes; the life of Du-Plessi Mornai, the verbal process of the assemblies of Vendôme and Châtelleraut, &c. but especially D'Aubigné, tom. 3. l. 4. c. 11. where he relates, at very full length, all the schemes and cabals of the Calvinist party, and the new turn which they endeavoured to give their affairs.

not

not hinder me, however, from taking advantage of the remaining correſpondence there was between us, to endeavour to bring him back to his duty. I wrote to him in anſwer, that although it were true the King, in reſpect to him, was ſuch as he imagined, there was neither honour nor greatneſs in extorting from him a declaration which was the effect only of neceſſity; but that, in reality, this Prince had the ſame ſentiments as formerly for the Proteſtants; that he was not the cauſe of that injuſtice they ſuffered from the Catholics, ſince he had equal reaſon to complain of them himſelf; that beſides he ſhould obſerve, that the conſequence of this edict, obtained ſo unſeaſonably, would not be ſo advantageous for them as they imagined, ſince the Catholics, always more powerful than they, were able to prevent it for the preſent; and for the future, the King, juſtly offended at their violent proceedings, would loſe all inclination to grant them one day, voluntarily, what in ſo unfavourable a conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by force; and all the effect which an unſucceſsful attempt would produce, would be to create a diſtruſt of them in the Catholic party, and put them upon their guard againſt them. I reminded Tremouille of the examples of thoſe illuſtrious Proteſtants, who, on all occaſions, both by their words and conduct, ſhewed, that a Proteſtant who acts conformable to his faith, has the good of the ſtate, and the true intereſt of his King always in view. Tremouille was ſo little moved with my letter, that he ſhewed it to every one, and made a public jeſt of it: but theſe deſigns, not being ſupported by a ſufficient number of partiſans, fell to the ground.

The poſt of great maſter of the ordnance became vacant, at my fourth viſit to the camp. Saint-Luc, looking between two gabions where, in appearance, there was ſcarcely room enough for a cannon-ball to enter, was unfortunately ſhot dead by one. The

King

King was converſing alone with me, when Villeroi and Montigny came to tell him the news, which they would not impart in the preſence of any other perſon, becauſe of the particular deſigns each had on this poſt. I came up to the King again when they had left him, and his Majeſty informed me of Saint-Luc's death, and likewiſe that Villeroi and Montigny had aſked him for this poſt; the firſt for his ſon D'Alincourt, or his nephew Château-neuf-l'Aubepine, and Montigny for himſelf. Saint-Luc had genius, readineſs of invention, was capable of great induſtry, and poſſeſſed of much perſonal courage; the only fault he could be charged with, was his reſigning himſelf up too much to a lively imagination, which furniſhing him with ſcheme after ſcheme, he conſumed in theory great part of that time which ſhould have been employed in practice. The King, however, thought none of the candidates capable of filling his place; D'Alincourt wanted fortitude, and, ſaid the King, has no colour on his nails: Châteauneuf concealed his want of real genius, under an appearance of affectation and grimace. Montigny was, in truth, valiant, and of warm affections; but theſe qualities were not ſufficient to intitle him to ſo conſiderable a poſt, as he was without expedient, order, or œconomy.

His Majeſty, by talking to me in this manner, appeared to me to have no other reaſon for heſitating whether he ſhould beſtow this poſt upon me, but becauſe he thought the duties of it incompatible with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the finances. It was not difficult for me to undeceive him; and that inſtant he promiſed I ſhould have it; but deferred this proof of his friendſhip for me, till the ſiege was at an end, my preſence being, in his opinion, neceſſary at Paris; during which time he would leave the place vacant. I did not ſee the King all the following day, and unfortunately for me he ſaw the Marchioneſs of Monceaux in that interval,

interval, who omitted nothing to prevail upon him to change his reſolution in favour of the elder D'Eſtrées, her father. The King reſiſted the intreaties of this lady, and even her tears; but he was not proof to her threats of throwing herſelf into a convent, if he refuſed her this favour The fear of loſing her rekindling all the ardours of his paſſion, ſhe obtained the poſt for her father. The next day the King, with ſome confuſion for the weakneſs he had ſhewn, informed me of what had paſſed; however, in one circumſtance he took care of my intereſts, by conditioning with Monſieur D'Eſtrées, who was utterly incapable of exerciſing this employment himſelf, that he ſhould exchange it for the firſt poſt under the crown which ſhould become vacant, and abſolutely reſign it (if a more conſiderable war ſhould happen to break out) in favour of him whom his Majeſty ſhould appoint: and he again engaged his word to me, that I ſhould be the perſon.

I was ſatisfied with this aſſurance, and returned to Paris, where a few days afterwards I received news from the camp of the death of my youngeſt brother, governor of Mante, whom I had left in good health. Of four brothers his death reduced us to two. The King rejected all the applications that were made to him by ſeveral perſons for the government of Mante, to beſtow it without any ſolicitation upon me. I received this gift by the ſame letter which his Majeſty wrote to me on occaſion of my brother's death, together with the writings neceſſary to inveſt me with all the rights of my brother, who died without children. I ſent Baltazar my ſecretary to Amiens, to procure my patent for the government, which as ſoon as I had received, I went to Mante to be acknowledged as governor, deſigning to ſtay there but four days.

The gentlemen of the council, ſuppoſing my abſence

ſence would be much longer, and probably followed by a reſignation of my employment in the finances, were full of joy; and one of the firſt advantages they drew from it, was to take proper meaſures for appropriating to themſelves part of thoſe ſums deſtined for the ſiege of Amiens. They all ſigned a letter to his Majeſty, written in the name of the council, in which they repreſented to him that, having been ſupplied with every thing that was neceſſary for the ſiege during five months, his Majeſty could not be ſurpriſed to hear, that his funds were quite exhauſted, having nothing remaining but ſome bad arrears and aſſignments of payment. Henry, who knew not that I was at Mante, and who, by an effect of his ordinary vivacity, had not examined the ſignatures of this letter, was ſo much the more ſurpriſed at it, as I had poſitively aſſured him that I was able to furniſh him with the uſual ſums for four months longer, which was all the time the ſiege was expected to laſt. He exclaimed in very ſevere terms againſt the gentlemen of the council, in the preſence of the chief officers of his army; nor for this once was I ſpared any more than the reſt: but after a moment's reflection, caſting his eyes upon the names ſubſcribed to this letter, among which he did not ſee mine, and learning from the courier that I was at Mante, he condemned himſelf immediately for his too precipitate anger; and that the reparations he made might be complete, he read my anſwer to the letter he wrote me upon this occaſion, in the preſence of the ſame perſons.

His intereſt indeed required that he ſhould remove their apprehenſions. A ſiege ſo extremely laborious had ſometimes diſcouraged both them and their ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that an abſolute deſertion would have been the conſequence of his treaſure being exhauſted, ſince, upon the leaſt delay of the remittances, the King could not hinder many

many from leaving him. All went on well to the end; if the beſieged defended themſelves with vigour, and made ſallies upon ſallies, they were attacked with the ſame ſpirit, and were always defeated.

The ſap was carried as far as the ramparts, and the beſiegers had juſt taken poſſeſſion of two caſemates, which they rendered uſeleſs to the beſieged, when the Cardinal Archduke, with the Count of Mansfield, who ſerved under him in quality of Lieutenant-general, thought it time to make an effort to prevent the reduction of the place: they marched towards it with an army conſiſting of between twelve and thirteen thouſand foot, and two or three thouſand horſe, and paſſed the river of Authie, with an intention to offer the King's forces battle, or at leaſt to throw a conſiderable ſupply into Amiens. All that endeavoured to enter were driven back *. The King went himſelf to reconnoitre the enemy's army: he had a full view of it; and notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their num-

* Pereſixe relates this fact very differently. "The Archduke," ſays he, came and lay before the quarter called Longpré, on the "15th of September, at two in the afternoon, when no body expected him. He might have eaſily thrown three thouſand men "into Amiens; ſo great was the conſternation which was ſpread in "the camp. Henry, doubting of the ſucceſs of that day, ſpoke out "aloud, O Lord (at the ſame time leaning upon the pommel of his "ſaddle, with his hat in his hand, and his eyes lifted towards hea"ven), if 'tis to day that thou intendeſt to puniſh me, as my ſins "deſerve, I offer up my life a ſacrifice to thy juſtice, ſpare not the "guilty; but, O Lord, for thy great mercy's ſake, pity this poor "kingdom, and chaſtiſe not the flock for the errors and faults of "the ſhepherd. When he ſaw nothing appearing, he withdrew diſ"ſatisfied," ſaid he gallantly, "with the courteſy of the Spaniards, "who would not advance one ſingle ſtep to receive him, and who, "with a bad grace, refuſed the honour which he offered them." Pereſixe, part 2. Moſt part of the hiſtorians agree, that the Spaniards let ſlip one of the fineſt opportunities they ever had of beating the King's army: and the Prince ſaid himſelf afterwards, that ſome of his chief officers told him all was now loſt. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 234.

bers, finding them a confuſed and diſorderly multitude, without diſcipline or conduct, reſolved to attack them; but at the firſt motion he made, the Archduke retreated with precipitation †: probably it would not have been impoſſible to have forced the Spaniards to a battle, and to have beat them without diſcontinuing the ſiege: at leaſt Henry was always of this opinion. Nevertheleſs he yielded to the advice of the greateſt number, who were for allowing the Archduke to retreat. After this, they applied themſelves cloſely to the ſiege. The ravelin having been carried away, and the body of the place beginning to be ſapped, Amiens ſurrendered the letter end of September this year, which had been almoſt wholly employed in this ſiege.

When I look upon the great number of letters which I received from the King during the expedition of Amiens, I cannot help being ſurpriſed that a prince, who had the operations of a great ſiege upon his hands, and the care of a whole camp,

† The King ſaid of the Cardinal Archduke, that he came on like a captain, but went off like a prieſt. La Curée very earneſtly deſired of the King, that he would be pleaſed to let him go and diſcover the poſture of the enemy's army, putting his Majeſty in mind, that the Spaniard had entered France four times, and that he had every time attacked them, and was the firſt who had beaten them. Henry made anſwer, M. la Curée, don't be in a hurry; and at the ſame time he gave him leave. La-Curée was much ſpoke of upon this occaſion for his valour, and the noble retreat he made before this army encamped at Betancourt, four leagues from Amiens. However, he afterwards ſaid, upon this occaſion, that when three or four hundred men retreat in this manner before a whole army, it is only the fault of that army if they are not cut off. He was an undaunted man: for one day he flung himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, when, by his hand being benumbed with holding his piſtol, he could not uſe his ſword. There were even women dreſſed like men, who fought in the French army: four among them were very remarkable, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in taking priſoners with their own hands, and one eſpecially who went under the name of Captain Gaſcon. Theſe particulars are taken from vol. 8929 of the King's MSS. See alſo on this head, tom. 6. des Memoires de la Ligue, in which are given very high commendations of the ſpirit, alertneſs, and valour of Henry IV.

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ſhould yet be ſo attentive to all affairs within his kingdom, and with equal facility and equal diligence acquit himſelf of ſuch oppoſite employments. I ſhall ſpare the reader the trouble of peruſing all theſe letters, as likewiſe thoſe which his Majeſty did me the honour to write to me afterwards. I reckoned above three thouſand, without taking in thoſe that I have neglected to preſerve, or have been loſt through the careleſſneſs of my ſecretaries. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of each: ſome of them I ſuppreſs in obedience to his Majeſty's orders, as they regarded perſons whoſe reputation he had no deſire to wound, and whom I have doubtleſs more reaſon to avoid offending, as I ſhould do by revealing intrigues of ſtate, or merely gallantry, which have ſtill continued ſecret: as for the reſt, they turned wholly upon accounts, application of particular ſums, payments, penſions, and other things of the ſame nature, all of which were ſo dry and unentertaining, that they afford new matter for praiſes of this prince.

With regard to his finances, for example, he was ſo extremely exact as to make me give him an account once a-week of the money received, and the uſes it had been put to *. He does not miſs to remark that, in caſting ſome cannon, they wanted to rob him of a piece. In a remiſſion of ſix or ſeven thouſand crowns which he was obliged to grant the people upon the land-taxes, he ſettles himſelf the gratification that ought to be repaid to certain pariſhes which had ſuffered moſt. He calculated exactly the number of the offices that were ſold, and the money ariſing from thence. He never forgot any perſon to whom the ſtate was indebted, or who had done it any ſervice, either in the diſtant provinces or the neighbouring kingdoms, aſſigning

* A hundred crowns could not be expended, ſays Perefixe, but he knew whether they were well or ill laid out.

with the utmoſt diſcernment a particular fund for all. His great care was, that the fund appointed for the ſupport of the war, ſhould not be broken in upon by any other payment, as appears when he mentions a recompence to be given to the Sieur de Vienne, who had brought back the city of Tours to its obedience, or the repayment of four thouſand crowns that he had borrowed of Madam de Beaufort.

The number of his letters relating to his military affairs are prodigious. He calculated ſo juſtly the ſums neceſſary for the making of trenches and other works, together with the ſoldiers pay, that there was no danger of a miſtake in following him. The order he obſerved in the march of his troops was not regulated with leſs prudence, than that of the convoys of money which came to his camp, that the one might not be retarded, nor the other intercepted.

All this made up but one part of his cares. The letter wherein he ſpeaks of the repairs of Montreuil, Boulogne, and Abbeville; thoſe in which he expatiates upon the method of maintaining regularity in the provinces, obedience in the cities, ſubordination in the different bodies, on occaſion of the chamber of accounts which had failed in the reſpect they owed him; that in which he ſays; "I would not mix the expences of maſquerades "with theſe deſtined for the uſe of my army;" for Mortier, who had provided dreſſes for a maſk, had cauſed the money laid out on that occaſion to be inſerted in a memorial of military expences; that alſo which contained his reply to the offer which the city of Paris made him by her Mayor and Aldermen, to ſupport, at their own expence, twelve hundred men, in conſideration of which ſervice, he diſcharged this city from paying the aids a ſecond time, and many other of this kind; all theſe ſhew, that the ſame hand that was able to

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draw up a plan of attack, was equally capable of conducting the affairs of the cabinet.

The only thing he neglected was his personal maintenance; to make him think of it, Montglat, the first steward of his household, was forced to inform him, as he tells us in some of his letters, that he could scarce make the pot boil any longer. He was not ashamed to confess a thing which affected his domestic enemies only; it was their part to blush that he was destitute of apparel, arms, and horses: however, he afterwards found means to settle a fund for his own subsistence, which could not be confounded with any other; it was the mark of gold arising from the offices which were sold, that he destined for this use. Such were the subjects of many of the letters he wrote me this year, from which the reader may judge of those of the following years, the originals of which I keep with the utmost care, but shall only transcribe the most important amongst them. It is remarkable, that although there are a great number of them, and almost all very long, there are few, however, that are not written with his own hand, particularly those which are directly addressed either to the council or to me *.

I was present at the council which was held after the surrender of Amiens, upon the operations of

* I observed in the preface the reasons that induced me not to transcribe here so many letters. They may be seen at the head of the new collection of Henry le Grand's: the originals of some of them are at this day to be seen in the fine museum of the Duke de Sully, with marginal notes written by Maximilian de Bethune's own hand. But the most valuable pieces in this cabinet, beside a considerable number of original letters of Henry III. and other contemporary princes, are papers of state, letters, serious or gay pieces, and other fragments, writ by Henry le Grand's own hands, and by his chief minister, or only signed or marked in the margin by them. We have already spoken of those that concern the accomodation of the Admiral de Villers, and other governors and towns, especially in Normandy: we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention particularly some others.

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the reſt of the campaign. Three propoſitions were made: to follow the enemy's army; ſeize ſome cities of Artois by ſurpriſe; and beſiege Dourlens† in form; upon which each one that was preſent gave his opinion; mine was, that it could not be expected the Cardinal Infant, who had ſo obſtinately refuſed to fight, when he had no other way of ſuccouring Amiens, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be obliged to come to an engagement now, when he was ſenſible he ſhould have all the King's forces to encounter, and had had ſufficient time to take meaſures to avoid it; nor was it more probable, that the enterpriſes upon the cities of Artois ſhould ſucceed, in the neighbourhood of ſo numerous an army: yet that either of theſe deſigns appeared to me more judicious than the project of laying ſiege to Dourlens, ſince that in fifteen days we might know what was to be expected from the former, and incur no ſhame by failing in them: whereas, by following the latter, we ſhould infallibly have the regret to find, that we had conſumed a great deal of time, money, and troops, to no purpoſe. It was reſolved, that the two firſt meaſures ſhould be ſuddenly attempted, without renouncing the ſiege of Dourlens. The Spaniards kept upon their guard, and the French gained no other advantage by this attempt, than the honour of having endeavoured to finiſh the war by a ſingle action, which contributed as much as all the reſt, to make the King of Spain deſirous of peace.

It was quite the reverſe with the enterpriſe of Dourlens, upon which they were obſtinately bent. The King ſent me at Paris, whither I had now returned, his laſt reſolutions on that head. I did not ſcruple to repreſent to him, in terms ſtill ſtronger, the reaſons that had hindered me from approving that propoſal; that his army, having ſuffered con-

† A city of Picardy.

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ſiderably at the ſiege of Amiens, was not in a condition to undertake a ſecond equally laborious in the month of October, a ſeaſon when the ground about Dourlens, which is naturally fat and viſcous, was made impracticable by the rains, and within ſight of an army eager to ſeize an occaſion of being revenged. The King did not take my freedom amiſs, though he was not convinced by my reaſons. He wrote to me in anſwer, that the expedition of Dourlens was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of Amiens and Abbeville: that by putting Picardy in a ſtate of ſecurity, he ſhould facilitate the ſale of the new offices; and that he would take ſuch meaſures, that the ſiege ſhould not continue ſo long as I apprehended.

Accordingly Dourlens was inveſted the ninth of October, and on the thirteenth the rains had ſo much ſpoiled the grounds and the roads, that the works could not be brought forward. Villeroi informed me in a letter, that they already repented of their attempt; in effect, the King ſet out almoſt immediately after, from his quarters at Beauval, and came to Belbat, where he gave orders for raiſing the ſiege, at which the ſoldiers had ſuffered ſo much during the ſhort time it had laſted, that they were upon the point of diſbanding. The King cauſed them all to be paid, placed them in winter quarters upon the frontier, left his light horſe there, retrenched part of the garriſons which the ſurpriſing of Amiens had obliged him to throw into the neighbouring places, and ſet forward for Paris, to ſpend the winter there, taking his rout through Rouen and Monceaux, where he ſtaid eight days.

From this place he ſent me orders to over-rule the difficulties which the Chancellor de Chiverny raiſed in parliament, to erect his country of Armagnac and Lectoure into a preſidial; and to aſſign the money ariſing from it to the payment of coſts granted

granted in parliament to the Sieur de Fontrailles, Count of Armagnac, in a ſuit which he had carried in that court againſt his Majeſty. As the Princeſs might have ſome claims upon this money, by virtue of the ceſſion her brother deſigned to make her of all his eſtates in this province, the King deſired me to keep the matter ſecret, and uſed the ſame precautions with Fontrailles and the Chancellor, the laſt of whom obſerved this command very ill; but his indiſcretion had no bad conſequence, the Princeſs leaving the Court of France a ſhort time after. In the ſame letter, the King ordered me to pay Demeurat his ſolicitor at Riom, as likewiſe La-Corbiniere, who was employed to furniſh proviſions for the troops that were left in Picardy. It was in theſe intervals from buſineſs, that he extended his attention to the moſt inconſiderable objects. He made me give the Sieur de Piles, an old faithful ſervant, a reward of three thouſand crowns, and another of eight thouſand livres to Gobelin, to whom, at the ſame time, he repaid ſixteen thouſand livres, advanced by him for the ſupport of his houſhold. There was no name, even to that of the poor woman who gathered the taxes at Giſors, which was not mentioned ſomewhere in his letters.

The poverty of the people *, which was indeed exceſſive, having produced many blanks in the receipts for the taxes, the King ſuſpected that the gentlemen of the council, who were very zealous in repreſenting and exaggerating theſe deficiencies, would find means, when they had obtained a diſcharge for the people, to put large ſums in their own pockets, by concealing the diſcharge that had

* Bougars, deſcribing in his letters the deſolation which the civil wars had cauſed in the kingdom aſſures us, amongſt other things, that the highways, were ſo over run with briars and thorns, that their tract could not but with much adō be diſcovered. Epiſt. 73. ad Camerar.

been granted; he ordered me first to get information, whether the people were as much behind hand in the years 1594 and 1595, as those gentlemen had made him believe; which would easily be done, by examining the accounts of receipts and expences given in by the general and particular receivers, and by visiting the courts of the same provinces, whither I was already gone; and secondly, to examine whether this deficiency of the taxes did not proceed from idleness in the collectors, and disobedience in the people.

To conclude, his Majesty began to busy himself at Monceaux with another matter of importance, that of drawing up articles, on which he desired to come to an agreement with the Protestants. This work he pressed for some time upon the Chancellor and Villeroi: I was likewise ordered to engage in it; but he would have had reason to complain a long time of the little attention which those men paid to his design, if he had not come himself to Paris to put it in execution *.

For these two last affairs concerning the financiers and the Protestants, more leisure was necessary than the King, upon his arrival at Paris, was able to afford them. He was obliged to turn his thoughts upon making new preparations for passing the following spring into Britany, where the rebels, finding themselves out of the view of their sovereign, continued, with impunity, in disorder and disobedience. The Duke of Mercœur, who was at their head, durst not openly, however, favour their revolt: on the contrary, the letters he wrote to the King were filled with seeming tokens of submission; and during the space of two

* 'He said to a deputation of the townsmen, who came to compliment him after the expedition to Amiens, shewing them the Marechal de Biron. "Here, Gentlemen, is the Marechal de Biron whom I freely present both to my friends and enemies." Peref. part 2.

years, it had been his whole ſtudy to amuſe him with feigned propoſals which he knew how to evade fulfilling. The King, on his ſide, had conſtantly diſſembled with the Duke, and hitherto contented himſelf with favourably receiving the officers of this province, who, weary of Mercœur's delays, addreſſed themſelves directly to his Majeſty: but at length, the King thinking it time to go and attack this rebellious ſubject, even at his own doors*, this deſign, which was carried on with the utmoſt ſecreſy, employed us during the whole winter.

It would have anſwered no purpoſe to have undertaken it without a body of twelve hundred foot, and two thouſand cavalry, and a train of artillery, conſiſting of twelve cannons at leaſt; and it was not poſſible to draw out theſe troops from the ſix thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, which his Majeſty thought neceſſary for the defence of the frontier of Picardy, and which he had committed to the care of the Conſtable, aſſiſted by the counſels of Meſſieurs Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery. New funds were to be found for the ſupport of all theſe troops; the taxes could not poſſibly be increaſed otherwiſe than by leſſening the coſts of the collection, which is with reſpect to the King a real increaſe. I likewiſe applied myſelf to collect the debts that were in arrear, and to recover ſuch as were neglected; to which I joined ſome new impoſts, few in number, and not oppreſſive.

The King, without theſe ſupplies, would have been obliged to have liſtened to propoſals for a peace, and could not then have concluded one,

* One of the Duke de Mercœur's friends, having aſked him one day, if ever he dreamed of being Duke of Britany, he made anſwer, "I know not whether it be a dream, but it has laſted theſe ten years "and upwards." The Ducheſs de Mercœur's grandmother was Charlotte, heireſs of the houſe of Penthievre, whoſe pretended rights to the Duchy of Britany were apparently the foundation of thoſe of the Duke de Mercœur.

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but upon terms very advantageous to Spain. Pope Clement VIII. desired it with great ardour; and, long before the campaign of Picardy, had sent the Cardinal of Florence, in quality of legate, to propose it to the King; at the same time Calatagironne, patriarch of Constantinople, went by his Holiness's orders to Spain for the same purpose. The negotiation had been unfortunate in the beginning. The King, more irritated than discouraged by the invasion of Amiens, only answered the Cardinal haughtily, that he would defer hearing what he had to propose, till after he had regained this place. The King of Spain on the other hand, although it was with regret that he beheld the war renewed, yet founded great hopes upon his success in Flanders, and particularly upon having surprised the city of Amiens, the possession of which might draw along with it that of all the neighbouring country from the Oise to the Seine.

The expeditions of the campaign being more favourable to the French, drew both sides nearer an accommodation. Philip knew Henry to be a Prince with whom it was as difficult to keep as to gain advantages, and having besides a foreboding in his own mind, that the illness he was seized with would be mortal, the fear of leaving at his death the Prince his son exposed to such an enemy as the King of France, induced him to listen to the advice of Calatagironne, who when he was assured of the King's inclinations, returned to Rome to acquaint the Pope with them, and was by his Holiness again deputed to France, to give the Cardinal of Florence an account of his success, and act in concert with him.

Accordingly their Eminences renewed their former solicitations with Henry, and often represented to him, that the peace, in some measure, depended wholly upon him. The King, who was undeceived in his turn, and no longer influenced

by those great and flattering hopes, which, through a reliance upon the promises of his courtiers, he had entertained, saw the return of the two negotiators with pleasure, though he appeared indifferent to their proposals: at length he told them, that he would not be against a peace, provided Spain would give up all she possessed in his dominions. The legates hinted, that this might possibly be obtained. And the King replied, that upon this plan he permitted them to treat and conclude a peace with the three ministers he had left in Picardy, to whom he referred them; in the mean while, that he might not lose the advantage of those preparations he had made for war, nor waste time so precious in mere negotiations, he set out for Britany.

The King took his rout through Angers, in the beginning of March, ordering his army to follow him by short journies: he permitted his council likewise to attend him, but not till it had made the necessary dispositions for supplying his army in Britany, and the troops and commissioners for the peace in Picardy, with all things that were needful. As I now had the absolute direction of the council, and met with no opposition whatever, I quickly put matters in such a state as I thought I might join the King, without any bad consequence. I expected to have found him already far advanced in Britany, and was greatly surprised to hear, as I drew near Angers, that the King had not left that city. The Duke of Mercœur must have been infallibly ruined, but for the service he received from Mesdames de Mercœur and De Martigues upon this occasion: they began with obtaining, by the interest of the Marchioness de Monceaux, a passport to meet the King at Angers *; where, as soon as they

* They had come thither before the King, but were refused entrance; upon which they withdrew to Ponte de Ce, till the King arrived at Angers.

arrived,

arrived, they entirely gained over the King's miſtreſs to their party. The Ducheſs de Mercœur offered her only daughter, to be diſpoſed of in marriage to whomſoever the King thought proper, hinting, to the Marchioneſs, that ſhe would not be againſt marrying this opulent heireſs to her ſon Cæſar †. The Marchioneſs of Monceaux was ſo agreeably flattered by this alliance, that from that moment, conſidering the Duke of Mercœur's intereſts as her own, ſhe ſolicited for him with the utmoſt ardour and aſſiduity: the two ladies likewiſe employed every art to ſoften a prince remarkable for his complacency to the ſex. He ſuffered himſelf to be diſarmed by their ſubmiſſions, promiſes, and tears, and no longer thought of chaſtiſing the Duke of Mercœur.

The moment I alighted at Angers I went to pay my reſpects to the King. This prince, who by the firſt word I uttered, and the turn only of my countenance, comprehended all I had in my mind, embraced me cloſely in his arms, and preſſing me to his boſom, "My friend," ſaid he to me, "you "are welcome; I am truly glad to ſee you here, "for I have had great need of you." "And I, "Sire," I replied (incapable of thoſe mean compliances that are dictated by flattery) "I am great-"ly grieved to find you ſtill here." "It is long," ſaid the King, interrupting me, "that we have "learned to underſtand each other by half a word; "I gueſs already what you would ſay to me; but "if you knew what has paſſed, and to what a for-"wardneſs I have already brought affairs, you "would alter your opinion." I replied, that thoſe advantages, whatever they were, which he meant, he might have obtained, and many far more con-

† "The eſpouſals were celebrated at Angers with the ſame mag-"nificence, as if he had been a lawfully-begotten ſon of France: "he was but four years of age, and ſhe but ſix." Peref. 2d part.

ſiderable,

ſiderable, if, inſtead of ſtopping at Angers, he had preſented himſelf before Nantes, at the head of his army. The King endeavoured to excuſe himſelf upon the want of inſtruments proper for the ſiege of the city. I anſwered, that he would have had no occaſion for them, becauſe Nantes would have rendered them unneceſſary by a ſurrender, and perhaps have delivered * the Duke of Mercœur into his hands. The firſt of theſe things it was highly probable would have happened, and the King acknowledged he believed ſo. After this confeſſion I added, "It is true, I do not find the "bravery of my prince in this inſtance; but I "ſhall ſay nothing, becauſe I know what it was "that withheld you." With this prince, I was not apprehenſive my ſincerity would have any bad conſequences. He confeſſed all to me, though with ſome little confuſion, alledging as an excuſe his compaſſion for thoſe who were in a ſtate of humiliation, and the fear of diſobliging his miſtreſs.

After this, the converſation turned wholly upon news: his Majeſty had juſt received letters from the Queen of England, expreſſing her deſire of ſending an ambaſſador to him, to induce him, as we imagined with great probability, to continue the war. By other letters, from Bellievre and Sillery, he was informed, that the legates had offered, in the name of Spain, to reſtore all the cities, except Cambray, that had been taken during the war. The King's carrying troops into Britany, without being under a neceſſity of leaving Picardy defenceleſs, had given great ſurpriſe to Spain, and

* All the hiſtorians agree, that Henry IV. was in a condition to have made the Duke de Mercœur ſmart for his diſobedience: he would never ſuffer that this Duke ſhould ſend him any perſon in his name to Vervins; and proteſted, that he would rather endure a continual war, than conſent that one of his ſubjects ſhould ſeem to treat with him thus like a foreign prince.

ſatisfaction

satisfaction to the court of London, ever solicitous to humble the pride of the crown. I advised Henry not to refuse a peace for the sake of a single city, and to be satisfied with having driven the enemy out of Picardy and Britany.

This latter province, which had panted for tranquillity a long time, was sensible how much it owed to his Majesty, whose presence at the head of an army was the only thing which could procure it that happiness. The party of Mercœur became the King's party. The Spaniards were not in a condition to hold out long against their united forces. Blavet * and Douarnenes, where they were cantoned in the greatest numbers, could not fail of yielding soon to the common lot, and a few days were sufficient to clear the province entirely of its foreign enemies, who afterwards assembled her states, in order to prove her gratitude to the King, by granting him a considerable subsidy. His Majesty commanded me to continue my rout to Britany, and while I waited there for his arrival, to pay the troops, and quarter them in caserns in the neighbourhood of Rennes and Vitre, with strict orders to keep up an exact discipline there; after which I was to go to Rennes, to represent his Majesty's person in the states, to hasten their resolutions concerning the sums that were promised, and use all my authority to facilitate the levying it. The King having an inclination to stay some days longer at Angers, laid hold of the pretence, that something was still wanting to the treaty with the Duke of Mercœur.

I had no reason to be offended with the Duchess of Mercœur for having endeavoured to procure the most favourable conditions she could: yet I

* Blavet is now called Port Louis, and lies in the Bishopric of Vannes: Douarnenes is another port and road, in the bishopric of Quimper.

so

ſo far reſented her making the King the dupe of her arts, that if his Majeſty had not obliged me to make her a viſit, I would have left Angers without ſeeing her; although I was related to this lady by the ſame ſide, by which I had the honour to be allied to the royal family, that is, by the houſe of Luxembourg.

The King remonſtrated to me, that if the conſideration of being related to her, together with the laws of politeneſs, were not ſufficient to induce me to pay her this reſpect, yet the Ducheſs of Mercœur deſerved it on account of that regard ſhe had for me, which the knowledge of my intentions could not alter. In effect, I was received by her and Madam de Martigues with the higheſt diſtinction and reſpect. Madam de Mercœur, after ſome gentle reproaches for having endeavoured to hurt her intereſt, and that of her daughter, my little kinſwoman, told me, that there was nothing ſhe ſo ardently deſired, as to be able to put the affairs of the Duke her huſband into my hands, that I might conclude this treaty with the King in whatſoever manner I thought fit. I anſwered the Ducheſs, that while my reſpect and adherence to her were not inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the King, which always carried me againſt any other conſideration, ſhe ſhould find no body more diſpoſed to ſerve her than myſelf.

I went to Château-Gonthier that evening, and reached Vitrè the next day, where I ſaw but too plainly of what importance it was to be extremely cautious and circumſpect in quartering troops, that nothing might be neglected. Meſſieurs de Saignac and de Mouy, Marechals de camp, were of great uſe to me upon this occaſion. Tranquillity was ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed in all this part of the country, that the countrymen who at firſt had retreated to the woods, and fortified themſelves there, where every moment they were ready to come to

blows, now returned to their houſes; and the city of Rennes thought that ſome acknowledgement was due to me; for this reaſon, when the ſtates were aſſembled, a fine apartment was prepared for me during my abode in that city, at the houſe of Madamoiſelle de la Riviere; ſhe was a woman of wit and gallantry, who being always looking out for pleaſures for herſelf, was the fitter for the commiſſion with which ſhe was charged, of engaging me in all the entertainments that are commonly found in cities like Rennes, opulent and polite. If the life of a miniſter was to be at all times like that which I led in this city, and which laſted almoſt ſix weeks, it would have in reality all thoſe charms which are ſo falſely attributed to it. I had no other employment than being preſent at the aſſembly of the ſtates, who, with all poſſible gratitude, agreed to the ſervice the King required of them, and granted him, without any oppoſition, eight hundred thouſand crowns; of which one hundred was to be paid the firſt month, as much the ſecond, and afterwards two hundred each month, till the whole was paid. To furniſh this ſum, a tax was created of four crowns upon a pipe of wine. The aſſembly were deſirous of adding a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns to me, which I refuſed, without examining whether this was among the number of thoſe occaſions when I might have been permitted to have accepted a preſent. The King, to whom the merit of my diſintereſtedneſs had been highly exaggerated, and who had himſelf beſtowed more praiſes on my conduct in the aſſembly, than it deſerved, was reſolved, that the expence of a preſent to me ſhould be his, and inſtead of ſix, gave me ten thouſand crowns. During ſix and twenty years, which I had ſpent in his Majeſty's ſervice, I had never received ſo conſiderable a gift. On this occaſion there was a kind of generous conteſt betwixt the King and the province of Britany;

which at last obtained, that these ten thousand crowns should be added to the eight hundred thousand the assembly had offered his Majesty.

The treaty with the Duke of Mercœur being compleated, the King sent it to the chamber of accounts at Rennes to be registered. As some private articles in this treaty were not expressed, the court thought it had a right to refuse registring it, without certain restrictions with respect to these articles. Henry, who knew better than any other prince in the world, how far the power of these sovereign courts extended, and always appeared careful not to make the least encroachment upon it, resented this refusal with becoming spirit; and, together with the dispatches which I received from him regularly every day, he sent me an order in writing for the chamber of accounts, in which he observed, that this court could not be ignorant, that in all treaties or acts relating merely to war or the King's person, the sovereign of France took counsel with no person, nor demanded his letters to be registered but as a formality, which otherwise was little essential; he reproved them for their rash conduct, and ordered them to repair their disobedience by an absolute submission to his will.

The King did not shew less firmness on another occasion which likewise regarded the sovereign courts. These bodies assumed the privilege of furnishing immediately but half of the sum which the assembly had taxed them for their contingent, and endeavoured to take a more convenient and more distant time for the payment of the rest: they made the same difficulties about their share of the necessary contributions for the maintenance of those troops which they had demanded themselves. Henry easily comprehended, that they would not have had recourse to this artifice, but to avoid contributing any thing, as soon as he had quitted the province; therefore he sent me word, that it

was

was his will they ſhould furniſh the whole tax; which was done accordingly. Their murmurs on account of paying the troops ceaſed, as ſoon as they were convinced that the tranquillity of their province depended upon this regulation, and they were the firſt after that to approve of my conduct.

Theſe ſeveral orders were ſent to me from Nantes, to which place the King had advanced, after the treaty with the Duke of Mercœur had been agreed upon, to attend to two affairs of importance, namely, the edict for the Proteſtants and the reception of the two ambaſſadors from England and Holland. His Majeſty believing his preſence in Picardy was neceſſary to forward the peace, intended to have left Nantes in a month's time, without taking a journey to Rennes, which he had looked upon as uſeleſs; and had already given orders for the march of the five regiments of Navarre, Piedmont, the Iſle of France, Boniface, and Bréauté, which he drew out of Britany, to fortify the frontier of Flanders. The King having informed me of his deſign with reſpect to theſe regiments, I repreſented to him, that the probability of a peace, being now changed to an abſolute certainty, it was neceſſary to diſband part of his troops, and leſſen the number of his gariſons, as being a burden too heavy for the kingdom to ſupport, and that two of thoſe regiments were now ſufficient for Picardy; accordingly, only the two firſt were ſent thither, under the conduct of the Marechal de Briſſac. I even inſiſted ſo much upon the neceſſity there was for his Majeſty to ſhew himſelf at leaſt in the capital of Britany, that the King, altering his ſcheme, reſolved to come and ſpend ſome days there before his return to Paris; and for that purpoſe, to diſpatch as ſoon as poſſible, thoſe two affairs which detained him at Nantes.

It was now become more neceſſary than ever, to regulate that concerning the Proteſtants: theſe people aſſumed ſuch a licentiouſneſs of tongue in France, that the King himſelf did not eſcape the rage and malignity of their invectives. The remonſtrances his Majeſty had made to the authors of the plot before mentioned, were ſo far from bringing them back to their duty, that, in appearance, it ſerved only to make them uſe their utmoſt efforts to bring the whole Proteſtant party in their ſeveral ſynods *, to the moſt violent reſolutions: Madam de Rohan did not ſcruple to cabal with many of them, in order to carry, by a plurality of voices, the propoſal of taking up arms, and forcing the King to receive ſuch conditions as they ſhould preſcribe to him; in which attempt ſhe was ſeconded with ſurpriſing aſſiduity, by D'Aubigné, remarkable for his ſatirical turn, and propenſity to ſlander †. It was he who in thoſe aſſemblies had the aſſurance to mention, that they ought no longer to place any confidence in a prince who, together with his religion, had abjured every ſentiment of his affection, good-will, and gratitude, for the Proteſtants: that nothing but neceſſity forced him to apply to them and treat them with regard; that when this was over, he would have no longer any care about their conſciences, liberties, or lives; that the peace with Spain, which was upon the point of being concluded, would plunge the party into the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſince the ſole motive that induced Henry to conſent to it, was to unite himſelf with that crown and the Pope, to ſacrifice them to their common hatred; and therefore, that nothing remained to be done, but to

* At Saumur, Loudon, Venêôme, and Châtelleraut: of theſe we have ſpoken before, on occaſion of the cabals of the Proteſtant party during the ſiege of Amiens.

† He is ſuppoſed to be the author of the confeſſion of Sancy, the adventures of the Baron de Fœneſte, and other lampoons.

take

take advantage of the King's perplexity during so toilsome a siege *, the distress he was in for money, the need he had of their assistance, and the power which the Duke of Mercœur still possessed in Britany, to obtain by force what Henry would afterwards refuse to grant them.

To incite the members of these assemblies to a revolt, the Protestants thought the blackest calumnies were lawful. D'Aubigné was not ashamed to represent Henry there, as a prince to whom all religions were indifferent, and who was only zealous for that which would secure him a throne †. This was the notion he wanted to give of his conversion. According to him, the supposed injuries offered to the Protestants left no room to doubt of the new system of politics that Henry had formed for himself. These injuries opened to D'Aubigné a vast field for exclamation; the least of them were represented as outrages of the most violent nature, and instances of the deepest treachery; and thus, without any regard to the extreme injustice of which he was guilty, he placed to the King's account all those hardships which proceeded solely from the Catholics or the court of Rome. The Duke of Bouillon, leaving others to declaim, supported D'Aubigné, by his uncommon dexterity in sowing division between the King and all that came near him, whether Catholics or Protestants, and created him sufficient employment, that he might not for a long time be at liberty to turn his arms against him. The taking of Mende by Fossense, and the fitting out of the Count d'Auvergne, were the consequence of these counsels.

* The siege of Amiens.

† "There are three things, (said Henry IV.) which the world "is very unwilling to believe; and yet, for all that, they are still "true and most certain; namely, that the Queen of England died a "maid; that the Archduke is a great general; and that the King "of France is a very good Catholic." Journal de L'Etoile, p. 233.

None

None of these persons neglected to make their court to the ambassadors from England and Holland, as soon as they arrived at Nantes; and depended so much the more upon drawing them into their schemes, as they were not ignorant, that it was particularly recommended to them to prevent a peace with Spain. These ambassadors were Lord Cecil * secretary to Queen Elisabeth, and Justin de Nassau, Admiral of the republic They demanded a private audience of the King; or, if that could not be obtained, at least to have no one present but Lomenie and me. But I was then employed at Rennes.

If the two ambassadors had been persuaded by the Protestants, all they had to do was to intimidate the King, and force him by menaces to come into their designs; but either this was not in their power, or being convinced of the Protestants injustice, they thought it beneath them to be influenced by their passions; and therefore took no notice to the King of what they had suggested. They had indeed offers to make which were much more likely to prevail with a prince of whose inclination for war they were not ignorant: the English ambassador offered, in the name of the Queen his mistress, six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be maintained at her expence; and Nassau four thousand foot, and a large train of artillery completely furnished and supplied, besides a particular supply, which they hinted would be very considerable, provided Henry would endeavour to retake Calais and Ardres. Upon the supposition that the King appeared inclined to accept these offers, the two ambassadors had orders to conclude a treaty of alliance immediately

* This was not the secretary himself, whose name was William, but his son Robert. De Thou, l. cxx. See likewise Chronol. Septennaire for the year 1598 concerning this interview of Henry IV. with the English and Dutch ambassadors.

between

between France, England, and the Low Countries, againſt Spain, and to ſtipulate that neither of theſe three powers ſhould liſten to any propoſal, either for a truce or peace with the common enemy, but with the conſent of the two others.

Happily the King eſcaped this dangerous ſnare; and the conſideration of the preſent ſtate of his kingdom had more weight with him than all others. He thanked the ambaſſadors with great politeneſs, and introduced his anſwer by aſſuring them that although he could not accept the offers of their ſovereigns, yet he would not depart from that friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them: and that the peace he was going to conclude with Spain (for he did not conceal the terms he was upon with Philip) ſhould not hinder him from keeping up the ſame correſpondence with them as before, nor from ſupplying them with money, when they had occaſion for it, with this only precaution, that theſe loans were taken under the title of acquittances of debts, to give no pretence for a quarrel with Spain.

He afterwards, with the ſame ſincerity, explained to them all his reaſons for putting an end to the war. His kingdom, he told them, was not like England and Holland, ſecured by nature from the attacks of her enemies, but open on all ſides; his caſtles unfortified, and deſtitute of ammunition; his marine weak, his provinces laid waſte, and ſome of them reduced to mere deſerts. He went on to give a more particular deſcription of the abuſes which had crept into the government, and introduced a thouſand diſorders; all ſubordination being deſtroyed by the licentiouſneſs that had been practiſed with impunity amidſt the confuſion of civil and foreign wars; his power weak and unſtable, and the royal authority, as well as the moſt ſacred laws of the ſtate, equally diſregarded. Theſe evils could only be remedied by

by a peace; and if that remedy was ever ſo little delayed, France was every hour approaching to her ruin; the diſtemper would ſoon reach the heart, and no human help would then be able to remove it. Henry did not forget to ſtrengthen theſe motives, by comparing his preſent ſituation, in all theſe reſpects, with that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war, on which their ſafety depended, conſiſtently at the ſame time with their ſafety and their intereſt; and the King drew this parallel with ſo much clearneſs and judgement, and ſo exact a knowledge of the ſtate of thoſe countries, as to make them feel the truth of what he was ſaying; ſo that the two foreigners, having nothing to object againſt ſuch convincing arguments, looked upon each other in amazement. The King gave them to underſtand, that, when he had ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, he ſhould then, with more aſſurance of ſucceſs, renew his former deſigns againſt the empire, and the houſe of Auſtria; but that theſe two enterpriſes were not of a nature to be executed at one and the ſame time. The ambaſſadors for form's ſake, thought they ought to diſſuade his Majeſty from this reſolution, but did it ſo faintly, being themſelves ſtruck with the force of his arguments, that, before the conference was ended, the King brought them over intirely to his opinion, and obliged them to confeſs, that the peace he was going to conclude was for the advantage of all Europe. They left France ſoon after, and filled their reſpective countries with the opinion they had themſelves conceived of the great wiſdom and extraordinary abilities of the King of France.

In effect, what innumerable miſeries would this Prince have drawn upon his kingdom, if following the wild emotions of hatred and revenge, rather than the calm dictates of wiſdom and prudence, he had at that inſtant engaged in a war, which

though in his power to begin, was not to end! How dreadful the conſequence, if chance, which arbitrarily diſpoſes of all the events of war, ſhould have favoured the enemies of France! but granting that his arms were victorious, how little preferable to a defeat is that ſucceſs, which a Prince muſt purchaſe at ſo dear a rate, as by the alienation of his domaines, by the anticipating and mortgaging his revenues, by the ruin of commerce and agriculture, from whence France derives her chief ſupport; and laſtly, by the utter devaſtation of his provinces! Such evils cannot be balanced by the acquiſition of new territories, the poſſeſſion of which keeps the conqueror in perpetual alarms, and, remaining as ſo many hateful monuments to the enemy of the ambition and injuſtice of him that gained them, cheriſhes and keeps alive thoſe ſeeds of envy, hatred, and diſtruſt, which ſooner or later never fail to produce the ſame miſeries with which the kingdom was before overwhelmed. On this account, I am not afraid to ſay, that, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, it is almoſt equally unhappy for its princes to ſucceed or miſcarry in their enterpriſes: and that the true way of weakening a powerful neighbour, is not to carry off his ſpoils, but to leave them to be ſhared by others.

The inſolence of the Proteſtant cabal was totally depreſſed, when they found that the ambaſſadors, upon whom they had ſo greatly relied, were entirely brought over to the King's opinion; and, not doubting but that a peace would now be ſoon concluded, they thought only of procuring reaſonable conditions. It was happy for them that, at a time when it would have been eaſy to puniſh them for their unjuſtifiable proceedings, they had a Prince to deal with whoſe reaſon was always ſtronger than his reſentment. Both ſides were then very induſtrious to draw up that famous agreement known by the name of the edict of

Nantes, by which the rights of the two religions were afterwards both clearly explained and solidly established. Schomberg, the President de Thou, Jeannin, and Calignon, were employed to draw it up, of which all I shall say is, that, by this edict, it was provided that the French Calvinists, who till then had been only privileged by truces resumed and continued, should have a fixed and durable establishment *. All that now remained to be done, was to get this treaty registered and confirmed by the parliaments and sovereign courts, and to begin with those of Paris; which was deferred till the King's return to that city.

Having paid what he owed to the Protestants †, according to the exactest justice, the King thought himself not obliged to shew much regard to those who still continued to stir sedition, such as the Duke of Bouillon in particular, who had most reason to reproach himself, and, for once, he resolved to speak to him like a master. He had now acquired a right to do this, even though we suppose him not to have had it in the character of King. He proposed as soon as he arrived at Ren-

* The edict of Nantes was signed the 13th of April. De Thou says, that the judicial confirmation of it was put off till after the departure of the legate, whom they were loth to send away discontented. The concessions this edict contains more favourable than those that had been formerly granted them are, that thereby they were admitted to places of trust, both in the courts of justice and in the finances: all the rest is no ways essentially different from the edict of pacification that passed in 1577. Bayle ascribes the honour of composing the edict of Nantes to the reformed minister Chamier. See it in Matthieu, tom. 2. book 2. and in several other historians. There were likewise some secret articles, of which the most disadvantageous for the Calvinist is that which forbids them the exercise of their religion in a great many towns and particular districts, as Rheims, Soissons, Dijon, Sens, &c. because Henry IV. had so engaged himself by particular treaties before, with the different Lords of the league.

† Le Grain mentions a good saying of Henry IV. One day as the Protestants were importunately teasing him with their demands, "Apply to my sister," says he to them, "for your affairs are now "fallen into the hands of women to conduct them."

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nes to execute this design, and took his rout thither without delay. The Duke of Bouillon then lodged at the house of l'Alloué, where he was confined to his bed by the gout. The King went to visit him, and after the first compliments, signifying that it was his pleasure to be left alone with the Duke, the rest of the company quitted the chamber, and his Majesty desired that he would, without interruption, hear what he had to say to him. He began with a particular detail of all his proceedings, to shew that he was not ignorant of any of them. He dwelt chiefly upon some steps the Duke had taken since the edict of Nantes, and were therefore so much the more criminal, as it ought to have prevented him from entertaining a thought of rebelling against a Prince who had so generously adhered to his interest. The Duke attempted to offer something in his excuse, but he was stopped by the King, who told him, that without any justification, he would from that day forget all that was passed; and since he had pardoned whatever the most inveterate malice had been able to suggest to his enemies, he had no inclination to exclude from his favour an old servant, with whom he had been pleased for a long time. At last he advised the Duke, with an air of authority, which became him better as he used it seldom, to make good use of the counsel he was now giving him as his friend, to think no more of his past behaviour, but for the sake of acting in a manner quite contrary; for if he should again fail in his respect to his King and master, he was resolved to make use of that convenience which the peace now established in the kingdom gave, to bring him to punishment. After which the King, without waiting for his answer, went out and left him to his own thoughts.

The inhabitants of Britany were charmed with the affability of their King, and his complaisance in being present at all the entertainments with which

the ladies contended to divert him. Henry divided his time between these assemblies, the sport of running at the ring, balls, and tennis-playing, without lessening his assiduity about the Marchioness of Monceaux, who was very far advanced in her pregnancy.

In the midst of these amusements, the King at certain intervals appeared so pensive and reserved, that it was not difficult to guess some secret uneasiness preyed upon his mind; and I was the more convinced of it when his Majesty, who often diverted himself with hunting, ordered me twice to follow him apart, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with me alone; yet when I did so he was silent. I then remembered that the same thing had happened at Saint-Germain and Angers; and I concluded that he had a design in view, which he had some difficulty to disclose to me, knowing with what freedom I sometimes opposed his opinions; but what this design was I could not possibly guess. Returning from the above mentioned visit to the Duke of Bouillon, his Majesty being at the foot of the stair-case, saw me as I entered the court, and calling me, made me go with him into the garden which was extremely large and beautiful, holding my hand with his finger between mine as usual, then ordered the door to be shut, and that no person should be allowed to enter.

This prelude made me expect to hear a secret of great consequence. Henry did not enter upon it immediately, but, as if he had not sufficient resolution to explain himself, began to tell me what had just passed between him and the Duke of Bouillon. This conversation was followed by news relating to the negotiations of Vervins, and led him insensibly to reflect on the advantages France would receive from a peaceable government. One circumstance, the King said, gave him great uneasiness, which was, that not having children by the Queen his wife,

wife, it would anſwer no purpoſe to be at ſo much trouble to procure peace and tranquillity to his kingdom, ſince, after his death, it muſt neceſſarily fall into its former calamities, by the diſputes that would ariſe between the Prince of Conde and the other princes of the blood, concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown. His Majeſty confeſſed to me, that this was his motive for deſiring, with ſuch ardour, to leave ſons behind him. Unleſs his marriage with the Princeſs Margaret could be diſſolved, it was not poſſible for him to be abſolutely happy; but the informations he received from the Archbiſhop of Urbin, Meſſieurs du Perron, d'Oſſat, and de Marquemont, his deputies at Rome, of the Pope's favourable diſpoſitions in reſpect to that affair, gave him great hopes of its ſucceſs. In effect, Clement VIII. who was as good a politician as any prince in Europe, revolving in his mind what means were moſt likely to hinder France, and the other Chriſtian kingdoms, from falling again into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, could find none ſo effectual as to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown of France, by authoriſing Henry to engage in a ſecond marriage, which might produce him male children.

Our converſation being fixed upon this ſubject, it was eaſy for me to perceive that it was from hence his Majeſty's uneaſineſs proceeded; but I could not ſo ſoon know what particular circumſtance it was that diſturbed him. The King began to conſider with me what princeſs of Europe he ſhould chuſe for his wife, in caſe his marriage with Margaret of Valois ſhould be diſſolved. But indeed he ſet out with a declaration which ſhewed any reflections on that head would be fruitleſs. "That I may not repent," ſaid he, "of taking "ſo dangerous a ſtep, nor draw upon myſelf a "misfortune which is with juſtice ſaid to exceed "all others, that of having a wife diſagreeable in "perſon

" perſon and mind, it is neceſſary that in her " whom I marry I ſhould find theſe ſeven things; " beauty, prudence, ſoftneſs, wit, fruitfulneſs, " riches, and a royal birth;" but there was not one in all Europe, with whom he appeared entirely ſatisfied. " I ſhould have no objection to the " Infanta of Spain," purſued Henry, " although " ſhe is a little advanced in years, provided that " with her I could marry the Low-Countries, even " though I ſhould be obliged to reſtore to you the " county of Bethune. Neither would I refuſe the " Princeſs * Arabella of England, if, as it is pub- " licly ſaid, that crown really belongs to her, ſhe " were only declared preſumptive heireſs of it; " but there is no reaſon to expect that either of " theſe things will happen. I have alſo heard of " ſome princeſſes of Germany, whoſe names I have " forgot; but the women of that country don't " ſuit me. I ſhould always fancy I had a hogſhead " of wine in bed with me; beſides, I have been " told that France had once a queen of that coun- " try, who had like to have ruined it: all theſe " conſiderations have given me a diſguſt to the " German ladies. The ſiſters of Prince Maurice " have likewiſe been mentioned to me; but beſides " that they are Proteſtants, which would give um- " brage to the court of Rome and the more zea- " lous Catholics, they are daughters of a nun; " which, together with a certain reaſon that I'll " inform you of ſome other time, has prevented " my entertaining any thoughts of them. The " Duke of Florence has a niece who is ſaid to be " handſome, but ſhe is deſcended from one of the

* Arabella Stuart. She was daughter to Charles, Earl of Lenox, who was grandſon to Margaret Queen of Scotland, eldeſt ſiſter to Henry VIII. Her couſin german James VI. King of Scotland, having in 1602 been declared lawful heir to Q. Eliſabeth, the following year a conſpiracy was formed in her favour; and ſhe died in 1616, a priſoner in the Tower of London. See the hiſtorians.

" moſt

" moſt inconſiderable families in Chriſtendom that " bear the title of Prince, it not being above three- " ſcore or fourſcore years ſince her anceſtors were " only the firſt citizens in Florence; ſhe is like- " wiſe of the ſame race with the Queen-mother " Catharine, who did ſo much miſchief to France, " and to me in particular.

" Theſe," continued the King, obſerving that I liſtened attentively to him, " are all the foreign " Princeſſes of whom I have any knowledge. Of " thoſe within my own kingdom my niece of " Guiſe would pleaſe me beſt *, notwithſtanding " the malicious reports that have been ſpread that " ſhe loves pullets in paper better than in a fricaſ- " ſée. For my part, I not only believe thoſe re- " ports to be falſe, but ſhould rather chuſe a wife " who is a little fond of gallantry, than one who " wanted underſtanding; but I am apprehenſive " that the violent affection ſhe diſcovers for her " family, particularly for her brothers, would cre- " ate ſome diſorders in the kingdom."

After this the King named all the other princeſſes in France, but to as little purpoſe. He acknowledged that ſome were beautiful, and genteel, ſuch as the eldeſt of the Duke of Maïenne's two daughters, although of a brown complexion, the two daughters likewiſe of the Duke of Aumale, and three of the Duke of Longueville; but all theſe were either two young, or were not to his liking. He afterwards named Mademoiſelle Rohan, the Princeſs of Conti's daughter, of the houſe of Lucé; Mademoiſelles Luxembourg and Gué-

* Louiſa Margaret of Lorrain: ſhe was a very beautiful princeſs. It was propoſed, at the time of the ſiege of Paris, for her to marry Henry IV. in order to unite the two parties. The ſarcaſtic lampoons of that time charge her with carrying on an intrigue with the Duke de Beliegarde, maſter of the horſe: and what Henry ſays here of *poulets*, is taken from a ſong that was made againſt Madamoiſelle de Guiſe, which may be ſeen in L'Etoile, for the year 1596.

mené;

mené; but the first was a Protestant, and the second not old enough, and the persons of the two others did not please him: and all for some reason or other were excluded. The King closed this enumeration by saying, that although these ladies might be all agreeable enough to him in their persons, yet he saw no way to be assured that they would bring him heirs, or that he could suit himself to their tempers, or be convinced of their prudence, three of the seven conditions without which he had resolved never to marry; since, if he entered into an engagement of that kind, it would be with a design to give his wife a share in the management of all his domestic affairs; and that, as according to the course of nature he should die before her, and leave children very young behind him, it would be necessary that he should be able to superintend their education, and govern the kingdom during a minority.

Weary at length of endeavouring to no purpose to find out what the King aimed at by this discourse, "But what is it you mean, Sire, said I, "by so many affirmatives and negatives; and what "am I to conclude from them, but that you are "desirous to marry, and yet cannot find a woman "upon earth qualified to be your wife? By the "manner in which you mentioned the Infanta "Clara Eugenia, it should seem that great heiresses "are most to your taste; but can you expect that "heaven should raise a Margaret of Flanders, or "a Mary of Burgundy, from the dead for you, "or at least restore the Queen of England to her "youth?" I added smiling, "that for proof of "the other qualities which he demanded, I saw "no better expedient than to bring all the beauties "of France together, from the age of seventeen "to that of twenty-five, that by talking with them "in person, he might know the turn of their temper and genius; and that for the rest he should

" refer himſelf to experienced matrons, to whom " recourſe is had on ſuch occaſions." Then beginning to talk more ſeriouſly, I declared that, " in my " opinion, his Majeſty might contract his expecta- " tions, by ſtriking off a great fortune and royal " birth, and content himſelf with a wife who was " likely to keep his heart, and bring him fine " children; but that here again he muſt content " himſelf with mere probability, there being many " beautiful women incapable of childbearing, and " many illuſtrious fathers unhappy in their off- " ſpring; but that whatever his children ſhould " prove, the blood from which they ſprung would " ſecure the reſpect and obedience of the French " nation."

" Well," interrupted the King, " ſetting aſide " your advice concerning this aſſembly of beauties, " with which I am mightily diverted, and your " ſage reflection that great men have often children " who poſſeſs none of their qualities, I hope to " have ſons whoſe actions ſhall exceed mine. Since " you confeſs that the lady whom I marry ought " to be of an agreeable temper, beautiful in her " perſon, and of ſuch a make as to give hopes of " her bringing children, reflect a little, whether " you do not know a perſon in whom all theſe " qualities are united." I replied that I would not take upon me to decide haſtily upon a choice wherein ſo much conſideration was requiſite, and to which I had not yet ſufficiently attended. " And what " would you ſay," returned Henry, " if I ſhould " name one, who, I am fully convinced, poſſeſſes " theſe three qualities." I ſhould ſay, Sire, replied I, with great ſimplicity, that you are much better acquainted with her than I am, and that ſhe muſt neceſſarily be a widow, otherwiſe you can have no certainty with regard to her fruitfulneſs. " This is all you would deſire," ſaid the King, " but if you cannot gueſs who ſhe is, I will name

" her to you." Name her then, said I, for I own I have not wit enough to find out who she is. " Ah! how dull are you," cried the King, " but " I am persuaded you could guess who I mean if " you would, and only affect this ignorance to " oblige me to name her myself; confess then " that these three qualities meet in my mistress: " not," pursued the King (in some confusion at this discovery of his weakness) " that I have any " intention to marry her, but I want to know " what you would say, if, not being able to meet " with any other of whom I could approve, I " should one day take it into my head to make " her my wife."

It was not difficult for me to discover, amidst these slight artifices, that his Majesty had already thought of it but too much, and was but too well disposed to this unworthy marriage, which every thing he had said tended to justify. My astonishment was indeed very great, but I thought it necessary to conceal my thoughts with the utmost care. I affected to believe that he was jesting, that I might have an opportunity of answering in such a manner as might make the King ashamed of having entertained so extravagant a notion. My dissimulation did not succeed; the King had not made so painful an effort to stop there. " I command you," said he to me, " to speak freely; you have acqui- " red the right of telling me plain truths; do not " apprehend that I shall be offended with you for " doing so, provided that it be in private; such " a liberty indeed in public would greatly offend " me."

I replied, that I would never be so imprudent as to say any thing in private, any more than in public, that might displease him, except on such occasions when his life, or the good of the state was in question. I afterwards represented to him the disgrace so scandalous an alliance would draw upon him,

him, in the opinion of the whole world, and the reproaches he would suffer from his own mind upon that account, when the ardour of his passion being abated, he should be able to judge impartially of his own conduct. I shewed him that if this was the only means to which he could have recourse to free France from the calamities a doubtful succession would occasion, that he would expose himself to all the inconveniencies he was anxious to avoid, and others still greater: that although he should legitimate the children he had by Madam de Liancourt, yet that could not hinder the eldest, who was born in a double adultery, from being, in this respect, inferior to the second, whose birth was attended with but half that disgrace; and both must yield to those whom he might have by Madam de Liancourt after she was his lawful wife. This bye circumstance making it impossible to settle their claims, could not fail of becoming an inexhaustible source of quarrels and war. "I leave you, Sire, "pursued I, to make reflections upon all this, be-"fore I say any more." "That will not be amiss," returned the King, who was struck with my arguments; "for you have said enough of this matter "for the first time." But such was the tyranny of that blind passion to which he was subjected, that in spite of himself he resumed the discourse that very moment, by asking me if, from the disposition I knew the French to be of, especially the nobility, I thought he had any reason to apprehend they would rise in rebellion while he was living, if he should marry his mistress.

This question convinced me, that his heart had received an incurable wound. I treated him accordingly, and entered into arguments and expostulations, with which I shall not trouble the reader, since his own imagination may suggest to him all that it was necessary to say upon this subject, which has been already but too fully handled. We

continued three hours alone in the garden, and I had the consolation to leave the King in a full persuasion of the truth and reasonableness of all I had said to him.

The difficulty lay in breaking those too powerful ties. The King had not yet brought himself to that point. He had many dreadful * conflicts of mind to suffer ere that could be effected; and all he could do for the present, was to defer taking his last resolution till he had obtained the permission he had been so long soliciting from the Pope, and till then to keep his sentiments secret. He promised me not to acquaint his mistress with what I had

* In this inward struggle, the voice of reason and decorum had not the strongest sway with Henry IV. and even though M. de Sully does here and elsewhere say it, the world have always been persuaded, upon very good grounds, that, if the death of his mistress, whom he so tenderly loved, had not prevented this prince, he would either have married her, or he would not have married again at all. He was not always directed on this head by the sole advice of the Duke de Sully, at least if we believe a very curious anecdote, which may be seen in vol. 9590, des MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi; where it is observed, that Henry IV. being at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, (this was probably but some months at most after his return from Britany), sent for his three ministers (M. de Rosny, de Villeroi, and de Silliery) to consult with them about this so important a question, relating to his marriage, and that the first (who to be sure was M. de Rosny) was of the same opinion as is mentioned in this place of his memoirs: that the second advised him on the contrary not to marry, but leave the succession to the Prince of Condé, who by birthright was his true heir; and that at last the third, (this was M. de Silliery, the most artful courtier of the three) in opposition to both the former advices, told him, that the best thing he could do was to marry his mistress, and legitimate the eldest of the children he had by her. Henry IV. (continues the author of this anecdote, who plainly shews himself to be a person to whom one of the three ministers themselves had communicated what passed between the King and them) I say Henry IV. seemed surprised at this, and afterwards said, "I had promised myself a great deal from "your abilities and fidelity, by the advice I wanted of you with re-"gard to my marriage; yet still I fear, that instead of having satis-"fied me, you have only increased my irresolution by the contrariety "of your opinions, which are backed with such strong reasons, that "I find myself not a little embarassed as to the judgement which I "should make as to the best of them; as to that therefore I require "a little time to consider of it," &c. And after he had said this, he got up and dismissed them.

said,

ſaid, leſt it ſhould draw her reſentment upon me. "She loves you," ſaid the King to me, "and e- "and eſteems you ſtill more; but her mind ſtill "entertains ſome remains of diſtruſt, that you will "not approve of my deſign in favour of her and "her children. She often tells me, that when "one hears you perpetually talking of my king- "dom and my glory, one is apt to think that you "prefer the one to my perſon, and the other to "my quiet." I anſwered, that againſt this charge I could make no defence; that the kingdom and the ſovereign were to be looked upon with the ſame eyes: "Remember, Sire, added I, that your "virtue is the ſoul which animates this great bo- "dy, which muſt, by its ſplendor and proſperity, "repay you that glory and happineſs that it derives "from you, and that you are not to ſeek happineſs "by any other means." After this we left the garden, and it being night, ſeparated, leaving the courtiers to rack their imaginations in vain to gueſs the ſubject of ſo long a conference.

Neither the King nor I had attended to a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary on ſuch occaſions, which was Margaret's conſent to the diſſolution of her marriage. I conceived it to be highly proper to enter upon this negotiation while we expected the ſucceſs of that which was carrying on at Rome. I was willing firſt to ſound the intentions of this Princeſs; therefore the ſubſtance of the letter I wrote to her on this ſubject was, that, moſt ardently deſiring a reconciliation between her and the King, upon which France founded her hopes of having a lawful heir to the crown, I thought it my duty to intreat ſhe ſhould authoriſe me to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but that, if the inclinations of both parties were ſuch as to render this attempt fruitleſs, or that it ſhould not conduce to the purpoſe I mentioned to her (a point I was ſenſible the ſterility of this

Princeſs

Princeſs would make her ſecretly agree to) I hoped ſhe would not be offended if I ſhould afterwards take the liberty to perſuade her to make a ſtill greater ſacrifice, which the ſtate expected from her. I did not explain myſelf any farther, but after what I had mentioned juſt before, upon the neceſſity of giving legitimate children to the crown of France, it was not difficult to gueſs what I meant by this ſacrifice.

The Queen took time to deliberate upon a matter of ſuch importance, before ſhe ſent me an anſwer; which I did not receive till five months after I had written to her: it was dated from Uſſon *, where ſhe uſually reſided, and was ſuch a one as we would have wiſhed, prudent, modeſt, and ſubmiſſive. Margaret, without explaining herſelf any more that I had done, upon a ſeparation that was not yet publickly talked of, was contented with ſubſtituting, inſtead of it, an aſſurance that ſhe would readily ſubmit to the King's will; adding the moſt candid praiſes of his conduct, and thanks to me for my ſolicitude and cares.

The King ſtaid at Rennes but ſeven or eight days, reſolving to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Paris, that he might reach Picardy the beginning of May. He took his rout through Vitré †, from whence I received orders from him to give a gratuity to the garriſon of Rochefort, and afterwards to cauſe the caſtle to be razed. From Vitré his Majeſty coaſted along the Loire, and came to Tours, by the way of La-Fleche, which he took pleaſure

* This princeſs had at firſt retired many years before to Agen, and afterwards to Carlat. King Henry III. her brother, had not treated her better than Henry IV. her husband, but perſecuted her every where, and at laſt ſhut her up in the caſtle of Uſſon in Auvergne, where, after his death, ſhe was contented to live.

† I have ſubſtituted this word in the place of that of Villeroi, as the original bears: there never was a place of that name in Britany; and in fact, Henry IV.'s road lay through Vitré.

in

in seeing again, it being the place where he had passed part of his time in his youth.

I staid behind him at Rennes five or six days, to put the affairs of the finances in order, pay the troops, settle their departure from Britany, and their march through the provinces; after which I came to Tours to the King, his Majesty having sent for me upon an affair of great importance. I left him to continue his journey to Paris, where (notwithstanding all the haste he was able to make) he did not arrive till the latter end of May. I was so weary † of the formality of our reception into the great cities, and particularly of the long speeches that we were tormented with in every place, that taking a by-road by Le-main and Le-Perche, I came alone to my estate at Rosne, where my wife was employed in attending the building of a house, and had narrowly escaped being crushed to pieces under the ruins of the old edifice, which was first to be demolished. I staid there but a short time, yet upon my arrival at Paris, I found the King was gone from thence. He had only passed thro' it, and taken the road to Amiens immediately. This city he thought convenient for corresponding with the plenpotentiaries of Vervins, and likewise for visiting all the fortresses upon the frontiers, to facilitate the evacuation of those that were to be restored to him by the treaty, and to provide for

† The King was no less so. L'Etoile relates some very smart repartees of his Majesty to these importunate haranguers; one of them tired him with long titles and compellations of honour, and repeating often, "O very benign, O very great, O very merciful, &c. King," "Add too," says Henry to him, "and very weary." Another having begun his speech with these words, "Agesilaus, King of Lacedemon, Sire, &c. The King interrupting him, says, "*Ventre, saint gris!* I have heard a good deal spoken of this Agesilaus, but "he had dined first; but, for my part I have not yet." Having twice told another, that he should cut short his harangue; and seeing that he went on tediously nevertheless, he left him, and so went away, telling him, 'You must say the rest then to master William," meaning the fool that belonged to the court.

their

their ſecurity for the future. All this was but the work of eight days, and his Majeſty was no ſooner come to Paris than the treaty was ſigned *.

The treaty was very clear and plain. The reſignation of all the towns and fortreſſes that Spain poſſeſſed in France was almoſt the only conſiderable article in it. No difficulty aroſe concerning the affair of the marquiſate of Saluces; the King did not think fit to break off the peace on account of this article, which was reckoned of ſo little importance, that if Savoy ſhould refuſe to do juſtice in it, the King, it was ſaid, might, with very little trouble, ſeize the whole territory without any obſtruction from Spain, both parties, however, obliged themſelves to ſtand to the Pope's † deciſion of the affair. Here the plenipotentiaries committed an error, which was the cauſe of engaging his Majeſty ſoon after in a war that might have been avoided. I ſhall take no notice of the reſt of thoſe formalities in uſe amongſt them ‡, and leave it to others to extol thoſe refined ſtratagems

* On the 2d of May, 1598, the peace was ſigned, in the name of the King, "by M Pomponne de Bellievre, Knight, Lord of Grignon, and counſellor of ſtate to the King, and M. Nicholas Brulart, Knight, Lord of Sillery, counſellor of ſtate to the King, and preſident in his court of parliament at Paris. In the name of the Cardinal of Auſtria, having full powers from the King of Spain, by M. John Richardot, Knight, chief and preſident of the privy-council of his ſaid Majeſty, and one of his council of ſtate: M. John Baptiſte de Taxis, Knight, &c, and M. Louis Verreiken, Knight," &c. See this whole treaty in the Memoirs & negotiations de la paix traité a Vervins, tom. 2. with an account, in form of a journal of all that paſſed between the plenipotentiaries, from the opening of that negotiation till the concluſion of the peace.

† What regards the Duke of Savoy, who was repreſented by M. Gaſpard de Geneve, Marquis de Lullin, and counſellor of ſtate, &c. is at the end of the 24th article, and imports, "that the remainder of the other differences that ſubſiſt between the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King and the ſaid Duke, ſhall be referred to the judgement of our holy father Clement VIII. to be determined by his Holineſs within one year.—And matters ſhall continue in the ſtate in which they are at preſent," &c.

‡ There were found the ſame difficulties as to the ſubſtance, and the ſame obſtacles as to the formalities that are uſually to be met with in

ſtratagems that in politics are thought the maſterpiece of human wit.

The King ſigned the treaty at Paris, in the preſence of the Duke ‡ d'Arſcot and the Admiral of Arragon; the Archduke did the ſame at Bruſſels, in the King of Spain's name and his own, before Marechal Biron, on whom the King, to qualify him for this ceremony, had juſt beſtowed the rank of Duke and Peer of France, a dignity that completely turned his head. Meſſieurs de Bellievre and de Sillery were likewiſe preſent. The Duke of Savoy gave his ſolemn aſſent to the peace at Chamberry, in the preſence of Gadagne Botheon, governor of Lyons, who was deputed to him by the King for that purpoſe.

Thus, notwithſtanding a league ſo poweful as that of the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and all the eccleſiaſtics *of Chriſtianity*, did the King of France accompliſh his deſigns * and crown them with a glorious peace. All thoſe who had been employed in effecting it,

ſuch ſort of deliberations. They may be ſeen in the Lettres de M. de Bellievre and de Sillery, and in the Relation, &c. Ibid. Theſe two negotiators have been generally commended for the firm and wiſe conduct which they ſhewed therein. In their letters, and, among others, in thoſe dated the 7th of April, and 4th of March, they give a particular detail of the motives that induced them to conclude with the agents for the Duke of Savoy in the manner of which M. de Sully complains: and all this they did by the particular orders of his Majeſty, in his letter of April 9. &c.

‡ Henry IV. took an oath for the obſerving of the treaty of peace on Sunday the 21ſt of June, the Cardinal de Florence, the Pope's legate, officiating in the moſt ſolemn manner. The account is alſo to be met with, Ibid. tom 2. p. 266. of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, vol. 9361. Mem. de la ligue, tom. 6. Mem. de Nevers, tom. 2. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. Cayet, and others.

* The letters which this prince wrote to his two miniſters at Vervins, during all the time that this negotiation laſted, confirm this. They are inſerted in the Mem. & Negociations, &c. Ibid. He ſays, "That with one ſtroke of his pen he had performed more exploits, "than he could have done during a long war with the beſt ſwords of his "kingdom." It was alſo ſaid, upon this treaty, that the Spaniards had got the better by arms, but the French by negotiation.

he rewarded with a royal munificence: and to prevent this measure from alienating Holland from his interests, he sent Buzenval to Amsterdam, to keep up a good intelligence with the States, and to pay the pension his Majesty allowed them. One could never weary in giving this prince the praises so justly due to his great abilities, and to his surprising diligence and expedition in shewing himself in every part of his kingdom where his presence was necessary.

BOOK X.

THE peace produced other cares and other labours. The King began by reducing the number of his troops, both French and foreigners. The Swiss, except three companies of an hundred men each, commanded by the Colonels Galati, Heid, and Baltazar, were disbanded. This reduction was not so complete as I could have wished, and the necessity of the times seemed to require; but my advice on this head was not approved by his Majesty. However, if it had been considered that the royal treasure was almost exhausted, and yet there was an absolute necessity of furnishing money for many occasions so urgent, that new sums must necessarily be borrowed for that purpose, I am of opinion, that I could not have been reproached with a sordid and misplaced œconomy.

These sums were to be applied to the fortifying a great number of towns, and the repairing of many buildings, that by the late disorders of the times were threatened with an approaching ruin, which

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it was neceſſary to prevent without delay. Upon viſiting the chief rivers of the kingdom, to ſettle the different claims (a buſineſs which was truſted to four perſons of known probity) it was likewiſe found neceſſary to raiſe ſeveral works, particularly upon the Charente.

Amongſt other political regulations which were thought neceſſary to be made, the King ſet bounds to that prodigious quantity of grain, which it was uſual to ſend out of the kingdom, and which often expoſed France to ſuffer the greateſt inconveniencies from a ſcarcity of her own produce *, By another regulation, all that had no right to wear ſwords †, were forbid, upon pain of the ſevereſt puniſhments, to appear with them.

Amidſt theſe occupations, polite literature was not excluded from a ſhare of the King's attention‡. He

* The moſt juſt conſequence which it would ſeem can be drawn from all the reaſonings we read and hear daily upon this point, namely of exporting corn out of the kingdom, is that which the Duke de Sully infers here. It would be unreaſonable to deprive this kingdom of one of the moſt happy reſources and one of the richeſt ſupports of its commerce, by forbidding all exportation of this ſort of commodity: and it would be no leſs imprudent to allow it without meaſure or proportion.

If to find this proper medium, the public and royal magazines do not appear to be an anſwerable and ſufficient expedient, by reaſon of the great expences and ſtill greater inconveniencies that attend them; it would ſeem that the ſame objection cannot be made againſt commiſſaries that might be eſtabliſhed to take care that the granaries of private perſons might be filled, opened, and ſhut, whenever the public exigencies require it. This part of political œconomy, whoſe great and almoſt ſole view ſhould be to know and keep up the proportion betwixt the productions of the earth and their conſumption, by fairly balancing the different years and different provinces, is not, I believe, ſo difficult as it firſt appears.

† As to the regulation of carrying arms, ſeveral perſons are of opinion, that it would be proper to add ſome diſtinguiſhing marks in the form of the cloaths, that might ſerve to make known in public the different ranks of people.

‡ As to arts and ſciences, and the belles lettres: if it be true, as it appears undoubted, that it is to the care that has been taken for ſome years paſt to cultivate them in Europe, that we owe the difference that may at this day be obſerved among Europeans, with re-

He heard Causabon mentioned, and upon the reputation of this learned man, he invited him to come and settle in Paris with his family, where he fixed him by a pension that afforded him the means of living as became a man of his character, who is not called, said Henry, to govern a state.

I am under a necessity of suppressing a detail of less important incidents, the number of which would be infinite, were I to recount in these Memoirs all that his Majesty said or wrote to me from Fontainbleau, Monceaux, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he passed the remainder of this year, and where, from time to time, he commanded my attendance to confer with me upon different occasions. I shall exactly fulfil my former promise, in suppressing all that are not in themselves of some consideration; and shall only observe here, that

gard to the softness of their manners, the politeness of their behaviour, their connexion with each other, and the means which a more pacific spirit has found out to discuss and terminate, in a less cruel manner, their respective differences; it appears, that, by all kinds of public motives, independently of that of the glory and particular interest that results from it, a great state ought not to lose sight of this object. After all the care which has been already taken in this kingdom, in order to form and establish a library, museums, and collections of all kinds, that might be worthy of the powerful monarch that rules it, to institute academies where persons apply themselves to improve the arts and sciences; the world expects with impatience to see the design executed that was formed some time ago, namely, to accommodate all the different parts a little more to one another, in such a large town as Paris, by bringing them all within the same walls, where one might conveniently find all, at once, its books, instruments, printing-houses, and in general, all the necessary implements, together with proper accommodations for lodging the persons appointed, and intrusted with the inspection of them; and especially, to see established a tribunal of arts and sciences consisting of proper persons in the different academies, and paid by his Majesty, to make exact trials and form a precise judgement concerning books, discoveries, and productions that might be useful to the public. At first there was an intention to make the square or place Vendôme serve for this purpose; after this the Old Louvre was pitched upon: but exigencies of state that are still more necessary to be attended to, have ever since made the execution of this project be deferred.

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perhaps no minister of state ever found in his prince more attention, or more fertility of expedients for every thing that could promote either the advantage or the mere convenience of a kingdom, than I found in the Prince whom I served. Neither peace, nor domestic affairs, made him neglect to observe what was doing in the neighbouring courts. The question about the true or false Don Sebastian * made then a great noise in Europe as well as in Spain. He sent La Tremouille into Portugal, to endeavour, if possible, to unravel the mystery, that he might not, but upon full conviction, determine upon the justice or iniquity of the council of Spain, which had begun their measures by causing the supposed King of Portugal to be arrested.

Henry, not having yet explained himself concerning those great schemes which he afterwards formed against the house of Austria, was desirous of acting this year as a mediator between Spain and England. He therefore proposed a conference to be held at Boulogne * between the two crowns, and sent Caumartin and Jeannin, to assist at it in

* This question seems at present to be pretty well decided, by the authority of far the greatest part of the best historians, who make no doubt but that King Sebastian lost his life in the battle he fought with the Moors at Alcaçar, in 1578; and consequently that this pretended Don Sebastian was but an impostor, supported both at that time and since by the enemies of Spain. See the proofs of this king's death in M. de Thou, book 65. of which we shall say more in the sequel. France could besides have meddled in this question another way. Catharine de Medicis pretended to have a rightful title to the crown of Portugal alledging that she was descended of Robert son to Alphonsus III. by Maude his first wife who died in 1262. Since which time she maintained that all the kings of Portugal were no other than usurpers. But as these were points very difficult to be decided, it appears that she made but little progress in making good her pretensions.

* This conference or congress, into which were admitted the States of the united provinces, was not held till the year 1599, in the months of May and June.

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his name. It was in vain that I oppoſed a meaſure, which ſeemed to me to be founded in very bad policy; happily, however, this conference produced nothing that had been expected from it. The obſtinate hatred theſe two nations bare to each other, gave riſe immediately to ſo hot a diſpute about precedency, that they ſeparated before they had even begun to ſettle the ſmalleſt preliminary.

The Jeſuits were not more fortunate in their endeavours to take advantage of that article in the treaty of Vervins, by which all French exiles as well as foreigners were at liberty to return into France and ſettle there. The decree of council which intervened, deprived them of this reſource, and they were obliged to make uſe of other means that ſucceeded better.

The aſſembly of the clergy which was held this year, and continued part of the following, ſhared likewiſe his Majeſty's attention, as well as the promotion of Cardinals. The ſon of Madam Sourdis was one of thoſe Frenchmen for whom the King procured a hat, although he was too young to be thought worthy of that diſtinction. Madam de Sourdis owed this favour to the Ducheſs of Beaufort's intereſt, whom ſhe prevailed upon to ſupport her requeſt.

This was the title the King's miſtreſs now bore, for which ſhe quitted that of Marchioneſs of Monceaux, when the birth of a ſecond ſon drew from his Majeſty an increaſe of tenderneſs and honours. This lady had for a long time ſet no bounds to her ambition; ſhe aſpired to nothing leſs than being declared Queen of France; and Henry's paſſion for her, which increaſed every day, gave her hopes of accompliſhing her deſigns. When ſhe was informed that the King's agents at Rome were commiſſioned to ſolicit the diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret, and that his Majeſty was on the point of ſending the Duke of Luxemburg to that court

court with the title of ambaſſador, to haſten the concluſion of it, ſhe looked upon this as a favourable opportunity. But ſuſpecting the agents and probably the new ambaſſador, ſhe caſt her eyes upon Sillery, who was already deep in her intereſt, and whom this laſt inſtance of confidence would not fail of binding ſtill cloſer to her ſervice. She ſent for him, and explaining her views to him, ſet no bounds to the reward which ſhe pretended to give for his ſervice and devotion. As ſhe knew what was moſt likely to tempt Sillery, ſhe aſſured him of the ſeals at his return from Rome, though at the hazard even of diſobliging Madam de Sourdis her aunt and intimate friend, and promiſed him likewiſe the poſt of Chancellor, as ſoon as it ſhould be vacant. At this price Sillery engaged, with all the oaths ſhe demanded from him, to neglect nothing that might prevail upon the Pope to legitimate the two children ſhe had by Henry, and to diſſolve his marriage with Margaret. This firſt ſtep taken, few obſtacles remained to hinder her advancement to the throne. She eaſily found reaſons to make the King approve of the ambaſſador ſhe had choſen. The Duke of Luxembourg was only ſuffered to ſet out, to be recalled as ſoon as Sillery ſhould be in a condition to take his place. The Ducheſs was at no pains to conceal from the court the title with which ſhe had graced her favourite. She aſſiſted herſelf in preparing his equipages, and prevailed upon the King to give the neceſſary orders for Sillery's appearance with all the pomp and magnificence, by which the ſucceſs of his negotiation might be ſecured.

The Ducheſs of Beaufort at the ſame time, to prepare the French for that change which ſhe meditated for her children, obtained of the King, who had no leſs tenderneſs for them than for the mother, that the ceremony of the baptiſm of the ſecond ſon ſhe had lately born him, ſhould be performed

formed at Saint-Germain, where his Majesty then was, with the same magnificence and honours which in this ceremony are only used to the children of France. Though I could pardon in this lady an intoxication in which she was kept by the servile respect the courtiers paid to her children, and the adorations they offered to herself, I could not have the same indulgence for Henry, who was so far from taking any measures to undeceive her, that he gave orders for the baptism of this child, with a readiness that shewed how agreeable the request was to him. I declared my sentiments of this proceeding with great freedom I endeavoured publicly to oppose the inference which I perceived the courtiers would draw, in favour of children so dear to the King, for the succession to the crown. The King himself, after the ceremony, became sensible that he had permitted too much, and told me that they had exceeded his orders; which I had no difficulty to believe. The child was named Alexander *, as the eldest had been Cæsar; and the court-flatterers, by a kind of second baptism, gave him the title of *Monsieur*, which in France no one is allowed to bear but the King's only brother, or the presumptive heir to the crown.

The mistress did not stop here; she began to assume all the airs of a Queen, not indeed wholly through her own presumption, for I think she knew herself too well to have indulged such extravagant ideas, but was driven on to take that step by the continual solicitations of her creatures and relations. Madam de Sourdis, Chiverny, and Fresne, seconded her so well on their parts, that it became insensibly the public talk of the court, that the King was going to marry his mistress; and

* They gave him the title of Chevalier de Vendôme. Lady Catharine, sister to the King, and the Count de Soissons, were the sponsors at his christening. He died grand prior of France, in 1629.

that it was for this purpose he was soliciting his divorce at Rome. I was shocked at a report so injurious to the glory of this prince. I went to him, and made him sensible of the consequence of it He appeared to me concerned, and even piqued at it. Yet his first care was to justify Madam de Beaufort, who, he positively assured me, had not contributed to the report; for which all the proof he had was, that she had told him so. He threw the whole blame upon Madam de Sourdis and Fresne, to whom he shewed that he was capable of pardoning a conduct so little respectful to him; since, although he was assured they were guilty, he gave them not the slightest reprimand.

One circumstance added great weight to the steps I took on this occasion both in public and private. Queen Margaret, with whom the affair of the approaching dissolution of her marriage obliged me to keep a correspondence by letters, was the last who heard of what was said and done at court, with regard to Madam de Beaufort's pretensions. As soon as she was informed of them, she wrote to me, and gave me to understand, that she had not changed her mind with regard to a separation from the King, but that she was so much offended at their intending to give the place she resigned to a woman so infamous as the Duchess was by her commerce with the King, that, although she had at first given her consent without annexing any conditions to it, she was now determined to insist upon the exclusion of this woman; and no treatment whatever should oblige her to alter her resolution. I shewed this letter to the King, who judging by it how much his marriage with his mistress would irritate the best of his subjects against him, began, in reality, to change his sentiments and conduct

I was of opinion that if Madam de Beaufort was acquainted with the contents of this letter, it might

probably produce the same effects upon her. I would not take this trouble upon myself, being unwilling to meet the insolence and rage of a woman, who looked upon me as a stumbling-block in the way of her advancement; but I communicated the letter to Chiverney and Fresne, who immediately informed Madam de Sourdis of it, and she, almost in the same moment, the Duchess of Beaufort. But this lady's counsellors were not so easily alarmed: they were very sensible that the design in which they had undertaken to engage the King, could not fail of meeting with many difficulties, and they had settled their behaviour upon each. The result of their deliberations had been, to hasten, as much as possible, the conclusion of the affair; persuading themselves, that when it was once over they might give it a colour that should make it excusable; or, at worst, matters would be composed after a little murmuring, as always happens when things are without remedy. They knew well the disposition of the French nation, especially the courtiers, whose first law it is, to be always of the same mind with the sovereign, and whose strongest passion, the desire of pleasing him. In a word, they thought themselves secure of every thing, provided the King himself did not fail them.

Fresne having drawn up the warrant for the payment of the heralds, trumpeters, and other under-officers of the crown, who had attended at the ceremony of the baptism, it was brought to me, as well as the rest, that I might give my order for its payment. As soon as I cast my eyes upon this writing, a tender concern for the King's honour made me look upon it as a lasting testimony of his weakness, which was going to be handed down to posterity I hesitated not a moment to return it, and caused another to be drawn up in terms more proper. The titles of Monsieur,

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Son of France, and all that could give any notion of that kind, was ſuppreſſed; and conſequently the houſhold fees reduced to the ordinary price, with which they were highly diſſatisfied. They did not fail to renew their efforts; and in their diſcontent quoted Monſieur de Freſne, and the law by which their claims were regulated: At firſt I reſtrained myſelf before theſe people, whoſe bad intentions I well knew; but growing impatient at laſt, I could not help ſaying to them, with ſome indignation, "Go, go, I will do nothing in it; "know that there are no children of France."

No ſooner had theſe words eſcaped me, than, ſuſpecting that a troubleſome affair would be made of it, to prevent it, I went immediately to his Majeſty, who was walking with the Duke d'Epernon in the palace of Saint-Germain. I ſhewed him the warrant Freſne had drawn up, telling him, that if it was allowed, there needed no more but to declare himſelf married to the Ducheſs of Beaufort. This is Freſne's malice (ſaid the King, after "he had read it:) but I ſhall take care to prevent "it." Then, commanding me to tear the paper, he turned to three or four lords of the court who were neareſt him "How malignant are theſe people (ſaid "he aloud,) and what difficulties do they throw "in the way of thoſe who ſerve me with fidelity. "They brought a warrant to Monſieur de Roſny, "with a deſign to make him offend me, if he paſſed "it, or my miſtreſs, if he refuſed it." As matters then ſtood, theſe words were far from being indifferent. They gave the courtiers, who had ſmiled at my ſimplicity, to underſtand, that they might poſſibly be deceived themſelves, and that the ſuppoſed marriage was not ſo near as they had imagined. The King continuing to converſe with me apart, told me, that he did not doubt but that Madam de Beaufort was greatly enraged againſt me, and adviſed me to go to her, and en-

deavour, by solid reasons, to give her satisfaction. "If they will not do, (added he,) I will speak to "her as her master."

I went directly to the Duchess's apartment, which was in the cloister of Saint Germain. I knew not what notion she conceived of a visit which she found I began with a sort of explanation. She did not allow me time to proceed. The rage with which she was animated not permitting her to observe any measures, she interruted me with a reproach that I had imposed upon the King, and made him believe that black was white. "'Tis "well! (said I, interrupting her in my turn, but "with great calmess,) since you think fit to talk "in this manner, I shall take my leave; but I shall "not, however, neglect to do my duty" Saying this, I left her, not being willing to hear more, lest I should be tempted to say something more severe. I put the King in a very ill humour with his mistress, when I repeated to him what she had said. "Come along with me, (said the King, with an "emotion that pleased me greatly,) and I will let you "see that women do not wholly possess me." His coach not being ready soon enough for his impatience, his Majesty got into mine; and as we drove to the Duchess's lodgings, he assured me that he would never have cause to reproach himself, that, through his complaisance for a woman, he had banished or even disgusted servants, who, like me, were only solicitous for his glory and interest

Madam de Beaufort, upon my leaving her apartment so hastily, had expected to see the King soon after: and during that time had taken sufficient pains to set off her person to the greatest advantage; believing, like me, that the victory which one or other of us must now gain, would be the presage of her good or bad fortune. As soon as she was informed of the King's arrival, she came as far as the door of the first hall to receive him.

Henry,

Henry, without saluting her, or expressing any part of his usual tenderness, "Let us go, Madam, "said he, to your chamber, and suffer no one "to enter but yourself, Rosny, and me; for I "want to talk to you both, and make you live to-"gether upon friendly terms." Then ordering the door to be shut, and that no one should be suffered to remain in the chamber, dressing-room, or closet, he took her hand, holding one of mine at the same time, and with an air, at which she had good reason to be surprised, told her, that the true motive which had determined him to attach himself to her, was the gentleness he had observed in her disposition; but that her conduct for some time past had convinced him, that what he had believed to be real was only dissembled, and that she had deceived him. He reproached her with the bad counsels to which she had listened, and the very considerable faults they had occasioned. He covered me with praises, to shew the Duchess by the difference of our proceedings, that I only was truly attached to his person. He commanded her to get so far the better of her aversion for me, as to be able to regulate her conduct by my advice, since, she might depend upon it, his passion for her should never induce him to deprive me of his confidence.

Madam de Beaufort began her answer by sighs and tears; she assumed a tender and submissive air; she would have kissed the hand of Henry; omitting no artifice which she thought capable of melting his heart. It was not till she had played over all these little arts, that she began to speak, which she did by complaining, that instead of those returns she might have expected from a Prince to whom she had given her heart, she saw herself sacrificed to one of his grooms. She repeated all that I had said or done to the prejudice of her children, in order to awake his Majesty's resentment

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againſt me. Then, feigning to ſink under the violence of her grief and deſpair, ſhe let herſelf fall upon a couch, where ſhe proteſted ſhe was determined to wait for death, not being able to endure life after ſo cruel an affront. The attack was a little ſtrong; Henry did not expect it. I obſerved him heedfully, and ſaw his countenance change; but recovering himſelf immediately, that his miſtreſs might not perceive it, he continued to tell her in the ſame tone, that ſhe might ſpare herſelf the trouble of having recourſe to ſo many artifices on ſo ſlight an occaſion. Senſibly affected at this reproach, ſhe redoubled her tears, crying, that ſhe plainly perceived ſhe was abandoned, and that doubtleſs it was to augment her ſhame, and my triumph, that the King had reſolved to make me a witneſs of the moſt cruel treatment that was ever ſhewn to any woman. This thought ſeemed to plunge her into a real deſpair. "By heaven, Ma-"dam," ſaid the King loſing patience, "this is too "much; I know to what all this artifice tends; "you want to prevail upon me to baniſh a ſervant "whoſe aſſiſtance I cannot be without. I declare "to you, if I was reduced to the neceſſity of chu-"ſing to loſe one or the other, I would rather part "with ten miſtreſſes like you, than one ſervant "ſuch as him." He did not forget the term of groom which ſhe had uſed; and was ſtill more offended, that ſhe had applied it to a man whoſe family had the honour of being allied to his own.

After this harſh ſpeech the King ſuddenly quitted the Ducheſs, and was going out of her apartment without ſeeming to be moved at the condition in which he left her; probably becauſe he knew her well enough to be aſſured that all this violence of grief was only affectation and grimace. As for me, I was ſo far deluded by it, as to be greatly concerned for her; and was not undeceived till Madam de Beaufort, perceiving the King was going to leave her

her ſo much offended, that ſhe had reaſon to apprehend he would never return again, changed her behaviour in an inſtant, ran to ſtop him, and threw herſelf at his feet; no longer to impoſe upon his tenderneſs, but to ſooth him to a forgetfulneſs of her fault. She began by apologiſing for her paſt conduct; aſſumed an air of gentleneſs and complacency, and ſwore ſhe never had, nor ever would have any will but his. Never was there a change of ſcene more ſudden. I now ſaw a woman perfectly agreeable, eaſy, and compliant, who behaved to me as if all that had juſt paſſed had been a dream; and we all ſeparated very good friends.

The King being at Monceaux about the end of October, felt ſome ſlight touches of a fever, which ended at laſt in a violent attack *; it was attributed to the diſturbance cauſed by a prodigious quantity of humours, which were diſcharged by a purge; and as the fever ſeemed to have wholly ceaſed, the King thought himſelf cured, and wrote to me to that effect; obſerving, however, that his indiſpoſition had left a faintneſs and dejection upon him which was not uſual with him, but that he would endeavour to diſpel it by walking, if he could get ſtrength enough. Theſe ſymptoms were the forerunner of a diſtemper, which a few days afterwards ſeized him with ſuch violence that he was ſoon in great danger, and I had the affliction to find him in this condition on my arrival at Monceaux, with Chatillon and D'Incarville, whom he ſent for in the letter I have juſt mentioned. I thought for a long time that I was only come to ſee my dear ma-

* In the following manner the hiſtorian Matthieu ſpeaks of this diſorder of Henry IV. "While he was very merry with his miſtreſs "and Bellegarde, and laughing very heartily at ſome ſatirical verſes, "he was ſuddenly ſeized with a violent fit of vomiting, which kept "him for ſeven hours together in very great danger, all that time "having a conſtant deſire to drink, and ſtill throwing up the wa-"ter while the glaſs was at his head." Tom. 2. l. 2. p. 277.

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ſter expire in my arms, for he would not permit me to leave Monceaux during his illneſs, and often called me to his bedſide. In one of theſe moments when the obſtinacy and continual recurrence of his diſtemper baffled all the art of the phyſicians, and this Prince himſelf thought that his laſt hour was approaching: "My friend, ſaid he to me, you "who have often ſeen me meet dangers which it "was eaſy for me to have avoided, know better "than any other perſon how little I fear death; "but I will not deny that I am grieved to die be- "fore I have raiſed this kingdom to that ſplendor "I intended for it; or convinced my people, by "diſcharging them of part of their taxes, and go- "verning them mildly, that I love them as my own "children."

At length Henry's good conſtitution prevailed, and his diſtemper was removed almoſt inſtantaneouſly *: ſo that the grief into which his danger had plunged us, was followed immediately by the joy of his recovery. He had afterwards a ſlight relapſe which had no bad conſequence: he ſent me word of this at Paris, whither I had returned as ſoon as I ſaw him out of danger. And in another letter, dated the 6th of November, which Schomberg at his return from Monceaux, brought me to Paris from his Majeſty, he informed me that his health was perfectly eſtabliſhed, except that he had ſome ſmall remains of that dejection on his ſpirits of which he had formerly complained, and of which he could not get rid, notwithſtanding he followed exactly the advice of his phyſicians. The Sieurs Mareſcot, Martin, and Roſſet, having, upon the

* It was during this malady that Henry IV. was very much troubled with a carneous excreſcence; which ſerved as a pretext to the Ducheſs of Beaufort, to let him know, by means of La Riviere, his firſt phyſician, whom ſhe gained over to her intereſt, that he could, after this, have no more children. Amelot de la Houſſaye, num. 1. ſur la lettre 243 du Cardinal d'Oſſat.

news of his illneſs, haſtened to Monceaux to aſſiſt his phyſicians in ordinary with their advice, he had the attention to cauſe them to be paid for their trouble, writing to me to give each of them one hundred crowns, and fifty to Regnault his ſurgeon.

The King had not yet quitted Monceaux when the Cardinal of Florence, who had ſo great a hand in the treaty of Vervins, paſſed through Paris, as he came back from Picardy, to return from thence to Rome, after he had taken leave of his Majeſty. The King ſent me to Paris to receive him, commanding me to pay him all imaginable honours. He had need of a perſon near the Pope ſo powerful as this Cardinal, who afterwards obtained the pontificate himſelf. I therefore omitted nothing that could anſwer his Majeſty's intentions; and the legate having an inclination to ſee Saint Germain-en-laye, I ſent orders to Momier, the keeper of the caſtle, to hang the halls and chambers with the fineſt tapeſtry of the crown. Momier executed my orders with great punctuality, but with ſo little judgement, that for the legate's chamber he choſe a ſuit of hangings wrought by the Queen of Navarre; very rich, indeed, but which repreſented nothing but emblems and mottos againſt the Pope and the Roman court, as ſatirical as they were ingenious. The Prelate endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept of a place in the coach that was to carry him to Saint Germain; which I refuſed, being deſirous of getting there before him, that I might ſee whether every thing was in order; with which I was very well pleaſed. I ſaw the blunder of the keeper, and rectified it immediately. The legate would not have failed to have looked upon ſuch a miſtake as a formed deſign to inſult him, and to have repreſented it as ſuch to the Pope. Reflecting afterwards, that no difference in religion could autho-

riſe ſuch ſarcaſms, I cauſed all thoſe mottos to be effaced.

I had long hoped that a peace would afford me leiſure to examine the finances of the kingdom thoroughly. All that I had hitherto been able to do, was only to alleviate the miſchief; and far from having been able to dig to the root, ſo as to eradicate it at once, the different neceſſities of the ſtate, which always followed each other ſo cloſe during the war, made it be reckoned on as a great ſtroke of policy to manage the finances without increaſing the confuſion. It is certain that, upon a cloſer examination, they ſeemed tainted with an incurable diſeaſe, which could not even be inquired into without the moſt unſhaken courage and invincible patience. The firſt glance was able to diſcover nothing but an univerſal loſs of credit; the royal treaſury indebted ſeveral hundred millions; no means of raiſing more money; exceſſive poverty; and ruin at hand. But this very ſtate of deſpair made it neceſſary not to delay a ſingle moment the undertaking this great work, while ſeveral opportunities concurring ſhewed at leaſt a poſſibility of ſucceſs. Every thing was in tranquillity; the pay of the troops conſiderably leſſened, the greater part of the military expences ſuppreſſed, the King's council, weary at length of making uſeleſs endeavours to deprive me of any management of public affairs, almoſt all buſineſs was tranſacted by me; theſe gentlemen diſdained even to come to the meetings, unleſs forced thither by their own intereſt, or that of their relations or friends. In thoſe meetings, nothing was propoſed without my approbation, and nothing executed without my conſent. The King had no ſecret with which I was not entruſted, nor any authority with which I was not occaſionally inveſted. All theſe conſiderations perſuaded me that, if the calamities cauſed by ſo many long and cruel civil wars were ever to be repaired,

paired, now or never was the time to accomplish it.

I had received from nature a strong constitution, a body able to support * long labours, and a mind capable

* The picture which M. de Perefixe gives us of M. de Rosny, altogether agrees with that which we see drawn here. "He had especially, says he, a genius turned for the management of the finances, and all the other qualifications requisite for such a station. In fact, he was a regular man, exact, and a great œconomist, he was punctual to his word, no ways prodigal, without any pompous ostentation, not inclined to profuse expence, game, or women, nor addicted to any thing that did not exactly tally with a man bred to such an employment. Besides, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious, bestowing almost his whole time on business and but little on his pleasures. Withall he had the happy dexterity of seeing through such sort of matters, and of unraveling the puzzling, perplexities, and untying the intricate knots, under which the farmers of the finances, when they have a mind to be knavish, endeavour to conceal their tricks." Part 3. P. Mathieu gives him no less high a character, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 278. "The King gave him," says Le Grain, "the post of superintendant-general of his finances, investing him with so great an authority as had never been seen in that office before. In this place, it must be confessed, there wanted a man at that time, who would have his eyes hoodwinked to every other consideration but the King's advantage, that is, to the public treasure, which it was necessary to restore to its full vigour; and who would be more rigid than either the dignity of some persons, or the respect due to others, would have endured at any other time. And indeed this great authority and power, which the King gave him, did in a little time after, restore full strength to all the main resources of the state." See the whole of what this writer says, with regard to M. de Sully. l. 7.

"He put," says D'Aubigné tom. 3. l. 5. c. 3. "The finances into the hands of the Marquis de Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, because he found he had a very extensive and laborious genius, as also a natural severity of temper, which, without regarding the favour of any body, enabled him to bear the unpleasingsomness of rebuffs; and by that means, filled the King's coffers, to which the natural disposition of his master did not a little contribute."

In a small piece, tom. 3 of the Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, we find the following account. "This change in the face of affairs, which the said Sieur de Sully had introduced into France, that had been brought to the lowest ebb of distress, renderig it opulent and flourishing by means of his good management and industry, does sufficiently testify his abilities. The remonstrances, which he made even to the King's pleasure, and the opposition which he maintained against all the great men, shew his virtue, prudence, and courage. Even those who envy him say, that he alone was of more

capable of great application, a natural propenſity to regularity and œconomy, improved by a particular ſtudy of that ſcience for a courſe of twenty-five years that I was near the King's perſon; and, if I may be allowed to ſay it, a paſſion yet more forcible for honour and virtue Such are the qualities I brought to the conduct of public affairs. With theſe, although one cannot keep clear of committing faults, and thoſe likewiſe very conſiderable, yet (and experience as well as the ſucceſs that attended my labours gives me a right to ſay ſo) one may be aſſured that the revenues of a ſtate are fallen into good hands, when a moderate degree of judgement, much diligence and exactneſs, and ſtill more probity, are qualities remarkable in him that governs them. I dare not aſſume more likeneſs than this to the portrait I am going to draw of a good miniſter of the finances; becauſe that, although I have always propoſed ſuch an one for my imitation, yet I candidly confeſs I am far from pretending to ſet up myſelf for a model.

It would be the ſhorteſt way to ſay, that a man who is called to the management of public affairs, ought to have no paſſions; but that we may not wholly deſtroy the notion of ſuch a being, by reducing him to an impoſſible and merely ideal exiſtence, it is ſufficient to ſay, that he ought to have

" uſe to the public, and knew its intereſts better, than all the reſt " of the kingdom beſides." The manuſcript which we quoted in the preface, coincides with this: and further may be added the ſuffrage of the greateſt part of the hiſtorians and memoirs of that time, which all agree, that M. de Sully has, in ſtrict juſtice, deſerved the appellation of the moſt laborious, the moſt capable, the moſt upright, and above all, the moſt ſteady miniſter that ever was. The ſeverity, rigidneſs, and haughty carriage, which are almoſt the only faults with which he has been charged, ariſe from the laſt mentioned quality, that no doubt was carried a little too far. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it in the ſequel: but I thought myſelf obliged previouſly to add theſe teſtimonies, to the account he gives us of his character and conduct.

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ſuch a knowledge of them, as to be able to avoid their influence. He ſhould be ſenſible of all the meanneſs of pride, the folly of ambition, the weakneſs of hatred, and the baſeneſs of revenge. As I intend only to make ſuch reflections as immediately relate to him, I ſhall not take any notice here of the great meanneſs of treating people ill, not only by actions but even words and of never giving orders to inferiors but in the tranſports of rage, or peeviſhneſs of ill humour, ſeaſoning them with oaths and curſes; ſince, living for the public, he ought to appear affable, and be eaſy of acceſs to every body, except to thoſe who only come to him with a deſign to corrupt him. and never to loſe ſight of this maxim, which holds one of the firſt places in the affairs of government. That a kingdom ought to be regulated by general rules, and that exceptions only occaſion diſcontent, and produce complaints.

A juſt knowledge of what is due to rank, and of different degrees of diſtinction, is ſo far from being contrary to this maxim, that it is eſſentially neceſſary to it, as well for obſerving thoſe rules of behaviour to perſons of different ranks, which the French politeneſs has eſtabliſhed, as to be undeceived of that miſtake, that one's riches and the favour of his King place every other perſon in a ſtate of ſubordination to him. An inclination for the fair ſex is a ſource of weakneſſes and injuſtice, which will inevitably carry him beyond the bounds of his duty. A paſſion for deep play will expoſe him to temptations ſtill a thouſand times more difficult to be overcome by a man who has all the money of the kingdom paſſing through his hands. That he may eſcape this dangerous ſnare, I am under a neceſſity of preſcribing to him to have no acquaintance either with cards or dice.

A diſlike to buſineſs proceeds generally from the ſame inclinations which lead to voluptuouſneſs, or

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create effeminacy. A ſtateſman ought in temperance to ſeek for a remedy againſt a fondneſs for ſplendor, and the delicacies of the table, which ſerve only to enervate both body and mind. A virtuous man ought to be wholly unacquainted with drunkenneſs; a diligent man ought to be no leſs ignorant of what is called high living. As he ought to make his retirement into his cabinet at all times, and at all hours, not merely ſupportable, but pleaſing; he cannot be too careful to prevent his mind from running on the delights of balls, maſquerades, and other parties of pleaſure. In all theſe trifling amuſements there is a nameleſs enchantment, that intoxicates the hearts of philoſophers and miſanthropes themſelves. The ſame caution is neceſſary againſt hunting, keeping many ſervants, equipages, furniture, buildings, and all other occaſions of expence that luxury has invented. A taſte for any of theſe things ſoon degenerates into a kind of paſſion, of which the waſte of time is not the only bad conſequence; prodigality, ruin, and diſhonour, are its uſual effects. It belongs only to man who cannot reſolve to live and amuſe himſelf with his own company, to think continually of galleries, columns, and guildings, and to run all his life after ſtatues, antiques, and medals. Do you learn to be contented with a common picture; the delicacy of procuring, at a great expence of money and anxiety of mind, original and other ſcarce pieces, proceeds wholly from an affectation of taſte.

I am, however, far from carrying the ſeverity of theſe manims ſo far, as to forbid a man, inveſted with a public employment, from having any attention to his own eaſe; and to deny him all kinds of amuſement. I would have him indulge himſelf in moderate pleaſures, and take care of his fortune, provided that he does the one without diſſipation, and the other without diſhonour. It is one of thoſe advantages that attends a diſpoſition not prone to expence,

expence, and fond of regularity, that he who is poſſeſſed of it, if he lives long, finds himſelf inſenſibly in affluent circumſtances. To make a fortune, which is a phraſe of ſo hateful a ſound, (becauſe, when it is applied to a man of buſineſs, it commonly means nothing but injuſtice, oppreſſion, and cruelty; and when applied to a courtier, nothing but mean tricks, deſpicable flattery, cringing ſervility, and even at ſome times knaveries and treachery), is nothing more than a natural conſequence, and even an act of virtue, where all ſee that the fortune is only the reward of labour, or an honeſt recompence of good actions. That I may not be miſtaken, I will add, that this ought to appear ſo clearly as to force our greateſt enemies to ſee it and confeſs it *.

It ought therefore to be an eſtabliſhed rule, That every man who undertakes the management of the finances, or any other part of the miniſtry, ſhould make and renew, from time to time, a kind of acknowledgement of the ſtate of his income; that is, that upon his entrance into the miniſtry he ſhould draw up an exact and particular memorial of his preſent poſſeſſions, and upon his leaving it give in another in the ſame form; ſo that whatever alterations have happened in his fortune may be known to others as well as himſelf. I have already taken care to give the public an account of every augmentation of my fortune, and each new dignity that was conferred upon me, according to the diffrent periods of time when they happened, and I

* A great part of the maxims which fill up chap. 8. part 1. of the political teſtament of the Cardinal de Richelieu, that treats both of the council and counſellors of the King, is evidently taken from this and many other places of M. de Sully's memoirs; and chiefly what he ſays of the four qualities requiſite to conſtitute a perfect counſellor, to wit, capacity, fidelity, courage or reſolution, and application. I ſhall have occaſion in what follows to make ſome remarks upon what ſeems overſtrained in the maxims and manners of M. de Sully, with regard to what is called luxury.

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ſhall ſtill continue this method. But as I look upon this affair to be ſubject to calculation, I am going to put every one into a way of doing it himſelf, and ſhall ſhew it completely done at the end of theſe Memoirs

My father's eſtate being equally divided between me and the only remaining brother out of four that I had, my ſhare of it, joined to my wife's fortune, which was ten thouſand livres, amounted only to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand livres a-year. And as it increaſed but very little in the ſpace of five and twenty years, when the King had no means of rewarding his ſervants, this was my whole income when the revenues of the ſtate were committed to my care. I am ſenſible that there are many perſons who would bluſh to make ſuch a confeſſion; but for my part, I have already ſaid, that in this reſpect I ſee only one thing that ought to give occaſion for a bluſh, which is, the infamy of poſſeſſing riches either ill or doubtfully acquired. I have neither the reproach of extortion, confiſcation, or unwarrantable profits to apprehend; all that I added to my firſt fortune aroſe merely from the King's bounty to me, ſo that I owe all to one God, and one maſter.

What I had been able to add to my fortune till the preſent year 1598, amounted to the following ſums, an appointment of two thouſand livres a-year as counſellor of Navarre, as much as counſellor of ſtate, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, which the King annexed to this poſt. My ſalary as member of the council having been augmented by degrees, and in proportion to the ſervices the King found he received from me, was, at this time, brought to twenty thouſand livres. The King doubled my company of gendarmes, which at firſt only conſiſted of fifty men, and after it was incorporated with that of the Queen, of which I was made Captain-lieutenant, the pay a-

mounted to five thouſand livres. The King made me likewiſe honorary counſellor of the parliament of Paris, but without any income. It was at this time that Chauvelin the younger had the firſt diſpenſation that had been granted from the rule of forty days, paying for it four thouſand crowns. I ſhall make but one article of the government of Mante, which had been juſt then given me, and that of Gergeau which I had afterwards. Such was the ſtate of my fortune at that time; the courſe of it, till then extremely ſlow, became very rapid the following years, by the great offices with which his Majeſty honoured me, and by rewards ſo conſiderable, that when I collect them together they will make one of the moſt important articles. I ſhall take into it his leaſt preſents, and even thoſe which I received from other royal perſons. Before I enter into the diſcuſſion of affairs, and account of the finances which I have promiſed, ſince I have begun to inform the public of my perſonal character, I will finiſh the picture by giving a detail of my public employments, and my whole manner of living, after I was in a public employment. This is the proper place for it, although, in order to ſay all upon this head at one time, it is neceſſary I ſhould ſuppoſe myſelf poſſeſſed of all thoſe poſts which were not given me till ſome time after.

Six days in the week a council was held both morning and evening. The firſt and moſt important was called the council of ſtate and the finances, which ſingly took up the Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays, ſitting both in the morning and afternoon. The King was the head of it, and was generally preſent. The dukes and peers, the officers of the crown, the knights of the King's orders, or thoſe who had a warrant from his Majeſty, had a ſeat, and a voice in the conſultations. Here were received and examined all kinds of petitions on any occaſion whatever, but eſpecially thoſe relating to

the penſions of ſtate, which from this time began to be paid with a punctuality that made them be preferred to every other eſtabliſhment, and even to landed eſtates. The three other days of the week were likewiſe taken up morning and evening with different councils, which were called *conſeils des parties* or privy councils, compoſed of a certain number of particular counſellors, where examinations were held of things properly referred to each of theſe counſels. If there was any controverſy, it was diſpatched to the courts of juſtice, to whoſe cogniſance it belonged; and care was taken that juſtice ſhould be done honeſtly and ſpeedily. I was a member of each of theſe councils, and commonly preſided in them when the King was not preſent, which often happened, eſpecially in the *conſeils des parties*, or privy councils. I never failed to be at the council of ſtate, the whole buſineſs of which lay upon me. All the letters and petitions that were to be preſented there were addreſſed to me; and as the queſtions that require general deliberations are not very common, it often happened, that in communicating the affair, I delivered likewiſe the reſolutions to be taken; and often carried thither decrees ready drawn up, that every thing might be diſpatched at one ſitting; and it happened but very ſeldom that alterations were made. I have always laid it down as a rule, that the anſwers which are given for regulating the conduct of perſons employed in great affairs, cannot be too expeditious, or too diſtinct; all the time that is ſpent in debate is loſt time.

It may be eaſily imagined how much time theſe employments required. I accuſtomed myſelf to riſe at four o'clock in the morning, both in winter and ſummer; and the two firſt hours were taken up in putting in as much order as poſſible thoſe affairs that were to be each day brought upon the carpet. A miniſter who acts otherwiſe will leave all things

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in confuſion and perpetual diſorder, by the different perplexities he will find himſelf involved in at laſt. At half an hour after ſix I was dreſſed, and ready to attend the council, which began at ſeven, and generally ended at nine; and according to the importance of the buſineſs that was tranſacted in it, at ten, and ſometimes eleven o'clock. It often happened that his Majeſty, inſtead of coming to the council, would ſend for me at nine or ten o'clock, when it was over, and either alone, or with his two other miniſters of ſtate *, Villeroi and Sillery, walk with us, acquaint us with his intentions, and give each of us orders relating to our particular employments. From thence I went home to dinner.

My table generally conſiſted of ten covers; and being ſerved with a moderation that was not approved of by the Lords of the court, eſpecially the Epicures, who make a ſerious affair of refining upon every thing that is eat or drank, I ſeldom invited any perſons to dine with me; ſo that my table was uſually filled only with my wife and children, or at moſt with ſome friend who was not more difficult to be pleaſed than myſelf. Frequent attempts

* Thus were thoſe called then, who ſince have been intitled ſecretaries of ſtate: and ſuch as were named ſecretaries of ſtate, as M. Forget, M. Lomenie, M. Beaulieu Ruſe, and M. Potier, were properly no more than four ſecretaries of the finances, of his Majeſty's firſt clerks. Though it appears that none of the three hath been called prime miniſter of ſtate, yet ſo unequally was the diſtribution of the functions of the miniſtry made between M. de Sully and his two colleagues, and Henry IV. gave the firſt ſo great a ſhare, and ſo much authority in what belonged to their province, that we may ſay he was in effect, prime miniſter, only that he had not the name. This title was not at that time much in uſe: for the Chancellor du Prat, under Francis I. the conſtable de Montmorency, under Henry II. &c. did not bear it, though they ſolely poſſeſſed the confidence of their maſters. M. de Villeroi was at the head of foreign affairs, having alſo the Preſident Jeannin for his colleague. M. de Sillery and Bellievre, who became chancellor ſome little time after, had the management of all domeſtic affairs.

were made to alter my conduct in this respect; but I always replied to any reproaches of that kind, in the words of an ancient, That if the guests were wise there was sufficient for them; if they were not, I could suffer the want of their company without trouble.

When dinner was over, I went into my great hall, where it was known that I regularly gave audience; and therefore at that hour was always full. Every one was admitted, and had free audience; the reply was no less speedy. In this my particular taste agreed perfectly with his Majesty's intention. I began with the ecclesiastics of both religions. The country people, who remained last, were kept but a little time in expectation. I took care to dispatch every one's business before I retired; and even sent for those who, staying in the court or garden, had suffered the hour to slip. If the affair that was proposed to me was equitable, and depended upon me, I promised in two words the execution of it; if otherwise, I civilly chid the proposer, and honestly forbore to meddle with it. If it appeared doubtful, or complicated, I called an intendant, or one of my secretaries, to whom I gave the papers that led to an explanation of it. And such was my management, that the affair was totally dispatched within a week, if I had promised it; and let the business be ever so much perplexed, the council before whom it was laid always dispatched it within the month.

As to the other counsels, which were held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, I assisted at them likewise as long as I could, before the increase of my employments had likewise increased my business, and even afterwards. But when the direction of the marine, artillery, fortifications, buildings, bridges, and causeys, were entrusted to me only, to which must be added the affairs of my governments, I was obliged to apply to this business

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in the place of the other; and to devote the mornings of these three days to the dispatch of business relating to these offices; because his Majesty thought them of consequence enough, especially that of surveyor-general of the high-ways, and superintendant of the fortifications and works, to be present at the clearing the accounts of each of these bodies of people, which was done in the presence of the governors and other officers, who were called together in a body on these occasions. Notwithstanding this, I did not neglect the other councils, but took care to be present when any important affair was debated, especially when it related to war.

I regulated my time in such a manner, that I had still leisure enough for those other affairs, and also for many more which I have not yet mentioned. The extraordinary and unforeseen business in which I was engaged, the conversations I had with his Majesty, the orders and letters I received from him, may be imagined by a general declaration, that this prince not only informed me of whatever happened to him, but also intrusted me with his most private affairs *, his secrets, designs, reflections, private distempers, pleasures, domestic uneasinesses, fears, hopes, amours, friendships, and disgusts; in a word, all was confided to my fidelity and discretion, terms which I am justly intitled to use. In all these moments, to comply with the King's desires and occasions, there was an absolute necessity to lay aside the most pressing business, to invent schemes, to go upon private errands, answer letters, and undertake journeys; by all which the affairs of the state would have been injured, if by giving the night as

* "Never any minister had the confidence of his master more entirely than this had: and never was any more worthy of it, on account of his fidelity, activity, continual application to business, and disinterestedness in every thing that related to the King's service," &c. Hist. de France de Cnalons, tom. 3. p. 255.

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well as the day to these accidental employments, which were not regulated by months, days, or hours, an extreme diligence in resuming those affairs that had been interrupted by them, had not restored every thing to its proper state.

One is surprised, in giving this detail, how, with such an exact œconomy of time, there should remain so little for affairs merely domestic. The few moments I could spare for them, I was never able to find but in one of the afternoons of those same three days; and these I snatched by intervals. It was necessary therefore that my wife should accustom herself to do all that I was not absolutely obliged to do; otherwise I must have relied upon people of business, or upon my domestics.

As to amusements, and hours of ease and refreshment, which were necessary to soften the fatigue of such extreme application to business, they were regulated with as much exactness as my most serious affairs; but, like them, subject to frequent interruptions. When, by good fortune, this did not happen, I had no occasion to go out of the arsenal to find them; for it was in this castle that I resided from the time I was made grand master till the death of my king, which I resigned to the tranquillity of a private life. The exercises of the arsenal, which was an excellent school for young people, gave the greatest relief to my mind, especially when I saw my children, my son-in-law, my relations and friends, mingled together. The good company which appeared in the afternoon at that little meeting, the exultations which were often heard, the air of gaiety without effeminacy, and of pleasure without negligence, which appeared there, is, of all things that I know, most proper to relieve a mind to which, by long habit of labour, all the amusements of mere idleness have been made insipid. In whatever manner I spent the afternoon, when the hour of supper arrived,

I ordered all my doors to be shut, and no person to be suffered to enter, unless he came from the King. From this hour, till I retired to bed, which I always did at ten o'clock, there was no longer any mention of business, all was ease, mirth, and social joy, with a small number of good and agreeable friends.

The office of prime minister, though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with the same difficulties; and the good fortune of those is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture when the whole stream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular course, they have nothing to do but sit quietly at the helm, content themselves with a general inspection, and leave the rest to be performed by that great number of persons who act in subordination to them. This advantage I never enjoyed, as may be perceived by what I have had occasion to say of it at different times; and, not to touch yet upon the affairs of the finances, which was at that time an ocean without bottom or shore, I desire the reader just to cast a look upon the different perplexities which must occur, even in managing the interior affairs of the kingdom, a cabal of disaffected people to watch narrowly, and, if possible, to break; a religious dispute to terminate; a powerful party to satisfy; and a general subordination and scheme of government to establish, and cause to be observed. Things were in such a state, that of all those officers of war and police, of the finances, judicature, and the King's household, of pensioners, and those that received salaries from the state, nothing more was known than that their number was infinite, and that there was a necessity for learning their names, and marking them all in a register, in order to suppress part of them.

The affairs of war were in the utmost disorder, and the regulation of them did not, as may possibly

bly be thought, consist in disbanding part of the troops. There was a necessity for taking cognisance of all the towns and fortresses, most of which were so near ruinous, that upon this account, as well as to lessen the number of garrisons that were supported in France, those that were useless were to be demolished. This could not, however be done till after the death of those persons from whom it would have been dangerous to take away the governments of them.

The marine alone might have furnished business enough for one minister, for a great number of years. For this part of the state, which requires so much application, does not make a very rapid progress. It must be the effect only of that quiet and splendor which a kingdom gains by peace and a good government *. It is not to be imagined to what a degree the marine, and the commerce that depended on it had been neglected in France. I agreed with the King, that this establishment should be begun at the foundation. That the sea-coasts should be visited, and ports examined, in order to take measures for repairing them. That the same ought to be done with those few disabled vessels and galleys that were yet to be found, till new ones could be built. After which, officers should be appointed, and sailors and pilots sought for, who might be stimulated to industry by rewards. In a word, to spare a longer detail, that an absolutely new marine should be created.

All this could not be performed but by degrees, and a little at a time. The finances being that part of the body of the state which was most diseased,

* "A nation must be very powerful," says Cardinal Richelieu after M. de Sully, "to pretend to this inheritance, (the possession of "the sovereignty at sea), the titles to it being founded more in force "than in reason." Testament politique, part 2. chap. 9. §. 5. 6. Cardinal D'Ossat, in several of his letters, advises Henry IV. to put his marine on a new footing.

required assistance first. The greatness of the evil may be imagined, by a list of the sums which were drawn from the exchequer to bring over the heads and other principal members and cities of the league to the King's party. This list has something curious enough; it amounted to more than thirty-two millions of livres, and is as follows †.

To the Duke of Lorrain, and other persons comprehended in his treaty, three million seven hundred sixty six thousand eight hundred and twenty-five livres To the Duke of Maïenne, and others comprehended in his treaty, together with two regiments of Swiss, whom the King took upon himself to pay, three million five hundred and eighty thousand livres. To the Duke of Guise, and others comprehended in his treaty, three hundred and eighty-eight thousand livres. To the Duke of Nemours and others, three hundred and seventy-eight thousand livres. To the Duke of Mercœur, for Blavet, and other towns of Britany, four million two hundred ninety-five thousand three hundred and fifty livres. To the Duke D'Elbœuf, for Poitiers, &c. nine hundred and seventy-thousand eight hundred and twenty-four livres. To Messieurs de Villars, and the Chevalier D'Oise, for Rouen and Havre, comprehending likewise the indemnifications granted to the Duke of Montpensier, Marechal Biron, the Chancellor, &c. three million four hundred seventy-seven thousand eight hundred livres. To the Duke D'Epernon and others, four hundred and ninety-six thousand livres. For the reduction of Marseilles, four hundred six thousand livres. To the Duke of Brissac, for Paris, &c. one million six hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred livres. To the Duke of Joyeuse, for Tolouse, &c.

† Here the old memoirs have an error, in the calculation of about one hundred thousand livres.

one million four hundred and seventy-thousand livres. To Monsieur de la Chatre, for Orleans, Bourges, &c eight hundred ninety-eight thousand nine hundred livres. To Messiurs de Villeroi and D'Alincourt, for Pontoise, &c. four hundred seventy-six thousand five hundred and ninety-four livres. To Monsieur de Bois-Dauphin and others, six hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred livres. To Monsieur de Balagny, for Cambray, &c. eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty livres. To Messieurs de Vitry and de Medavy, three hundred and eighty thousand livres. To the Sieurs Vidame d'Amiens, d'Etournelle, Marquis de Trenel, Sessevalle, du Pêche, Lamet, &c. and for the cities of Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Coucy, Pierrefont, &c. one million two hundred sixty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty livres. To the Sieurs de Bellan, Quionville, Joffreville, du Pêche, &c. and for Troyes-Nogent, Vitré, Chaumont, Rocroy, Chatea-Porcien, &c. eight hundred thirty thousand and forty-eight livres. To Messieurs de Rochefort, and for Vezelay, Macon, Mailly, &c. four hundred fifty-seven thousand livres. To Messieurs de Canillac, d'Achion, Lignerac, Monfant, Fumel, &c. and for the city du Puy, &c. five hundred forty-seven thousand livres. To Messieurs de Montpezat, and de Montespan, &c. and for several cities of Guienne, three hundred and ninety thousand livres. For Lyons, Vienne, Valence, and other cities of Dauphiny, six hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred livres. To the Sieurs Daradon, la Pardieu, Bourcanny, Saint-Offange, for Dinan, &c. one hundred and eighty-thousand livres. To the Sieurs de Levisson, Baudoin, and Beauvillers, one hundred and sixty thousand livres.

I should terrify my readers were I to shew them that this sum made up but a small part of that which was demanded from the exchequer, both for the

the French and foreigners, under the title of pay, penſions, loans, arrears, &c. and that the total of all theſe ſums, after making ſome deductions, amounted, by the computation I made, to near three hundred and thirty millions of livres. This calculation I would lay down here, but that I think it will appear more properly when I ſhall treat of the diſcuſſion of all theſe particulars.

Here was a large field diſplayed for the labours of a ſuperintendant of the finances; but the difficulty was, where to begin. The exorbitancy of the ſtate-debts demanded an increaſe of the taxes; but the general poverty, a diminution of the old. And upon mature conſideration, I even found it for the intereſt of the Prince, that the cries of the public miſery ſhould be heard. It is not poſſible to give a juſt idea of the dreadful condition to which the provinces were reduced, eſpecially thoſe of Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, and Guienne; the theatres of long and bloody wars and outrages, by which they were wholly exhauſted. I granted, over the whole kingdom, a remiſſion of the remainder of the ſubſidies of 1596, which were yet to pay *; a proceeding that neceſſity, as well as charity and juſtice, demanded. This gratuity, which gave the people time to breathe again, was the loſs of twenty millions to the King; but it facilitated the payment of the ſubſidies of 1597, which had been otherwiſe morally impoſſible.

After this relief, I endeavoured to procure the country-people as many more favours as I was able, being ſtrongly perſuaded, that it could never be the ſum of thirty millions, which was raiſed every year in a kingdom ſo rich, and of ſuch extent as France,

* Together with the arrears of preceding years, for which private perſons had given their bonds to the receivers of the taxes: ſome of which bonds, according to Le-Graine, liv. 7. being 7 years backwards, were declared null and void.

that could reduce it to its preſent miſerable condition, and that the ſums made up of extortions and falſe expences, muſt certainly infinitely exceed thoſe which were brought into his Majeſty's coffers. I took the pen, and reſolved to make this immenſe calculation I ſaw, with a horror which gave new force to my zeal, that for theſe thirty millions that were given to his Majeſty, there were drawn from the purſes of the ſubjects, I almoſt bluſh to ſay it, one hundred and fifty millions *. The thing appeared to me ſo incredible, that I could not believe it, till with great induſty I convinced myſelf it was true. After this, I was no longer ignorant from whence the calamity of the people proceeded, at a time when, although commerce was interrupted, induſtry ſtopped or perſecuted, the farms neglected and without value, and every other kind of wealth diminiſhed in proportion, they had been obliged to furniſh a ſum ſo much beyond their abilities, which had been forced from them with the utmoſt violence.

I then applied my cares againſt the authors of this oppreſſion, who were the governors and other officers of the army, as well as the civil magiſtrates, and officers of the revenue; who all, even to the meaneſt, abuſed, in an enormous manner, the authority their employments gave them over the peo-

* This ſum, exhorbitant as it is, will not however, appear exaggerated, if we conſider, that beſides the ordinary expences of levying it, which were at that time exceſſive, the people had ſtill a great number of other impoſitions and exactions to bear. "For France would "become too rich," ſays Cardinal Richelieu, Teſt. pol. part 2. c. 9. § 7. "and the people be in too flouriſhing a condition, if the public "money, which other ſtates expend with œconomy, were not ſquan-"dered with prodigality here. She loſes more in my opinion, than "thoſe kingdoms that pretend to rival her lay out in their ordinary "diſburſements." Upon this he relates a good ſaying of a Venetian ambaſſador; viz. that to render France happy, he wiſhed no other, than that ſhe knew as well how to expend the money ſhe ſquandered without reaſon, as his republic did not to ſpend one ſingle farthing without occaſion and the greateſt good huſbandry.

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ple. And I cauſed a decree to be paſſed in council, by which they were prohibited, under great penalties, to exact any thing from the people, upon any account whatſoever, without a warrant in form, beyond what they were bound to pay as their ſhare of the tallage, and other ſubſidies ſettled by the King; the treaſurers of France being enjoined to give information of all contrary practices, on pain of being anſwerable for them themſelves.

This decree was a check to the greedineſs of all theſe petty extortioners, but raiſed a furious reſentment in them againſt me. And notwithſtanding there was ſomething ſhameful in expreſſing it, yet many of them made loud complaints of me, as if I had in reality ſtripped them of their lawful poſſeſſions. The Duke d'Epernon was the firſt who explained himſelf on this head, and ventured to come to a quarrel with me about it. The mortification he had ſuffered had not leſſened the fierceneſs and inſolence of his temper. The Provençals had often bleſſed the moment when he quitted their province. No people could be more miſerable than his vaſſals, and thoſe that were too near neighbours to his lands. He raiſed every year at their expence, a revenue of above ſixty thouſand crowns.

The members of the council, to whom this decree gave as much pain as to the Duke de Epernon, informed him of the day when it was to be paſſed; and he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to prevent it. Accordingly he came and took his ſeat in the council *; and addreſſing himſelf to me,

* The quarrel mentioned here happened on Monday the 26th of Oct. 1598, at the chancellor's, where the council was held. The Duke "d'Epernon having told M. de Roſny that he was not obliged to wait "upon him at his houſe, valuing his quality at a very high rate; the "latter made anſwer, with an air of rodomontade, that he was de"ſcended from one of the oldeſt families in France. Yes, Sir, re"plied the Duke d'Epernon, if you will allow that there is ſome "difference

me, made a compariſon, with great arrogance and contempt, of the manner in which he ſupported the honour of his name, with that in which I diſgraced mine, by the new trade I had taken

" difference betwixt you and me: Having mentioned his ſword, and " taken occaſion to raiſe the profeſſion of arms above all others, M. " de Roſny returned, that he likewiſe had a ſword, and knew how " to uſe it. To which the Duke d'Epernon replied, that he did not " doubt that. The chancellor then interpoſing, pacified them, where- " upon they began to talk a little more coolly; when M. de Roſny, " reſuming the diſcourſe, ſaid to him, Sir, you have treated me as if " I were ſome petty tax-gatherer. No, replied the Duke d'Epernon, " you will find, that I am not come hither to give you any opprobrious " language. I am not a perſon to be uſed ſo, ſays M. de Roſny, in- " terrupting him: ſuch treatment I would not bear from any man " alive. I did not intend any affront, ſays the Duke d'Epernon. I am " glad, returns M de Roſny, affecting to take his antagoniſt's laſt " words, as an apology, that you did not affront me. I give nobody " any affront, replied the Duke d'Epernon; and were even that the " caſe, I carry about me what will give ſatisfaction to perſons of my " own rank, and to others according to their ſtations. It was, pro- " bably, after theſe laſt words, which were very provoking, that " both of them clapt their hands to the hilts of their ſwords. The " Chancellor and the other counſellors had often interpoſed, and at " length parted them." The 8055th vol. of MSS. de la bibliot. du Roi, from which I take theſe particulars almoſt word for word, relates them, with ſome other ſimilar circumſtances, to ſhow the haſty and proud temper of the Duke de Sully: and at the ſame time the whole of this account is given us in ſuch a manner as is not at all favourable to him. Le Grain has alſo this fact in his eye in what I am going to quote. But though he agrees, that a miniſter ought, above all things, to have a great regard for moderation, yet he cannot forbear juſtifying M. de Sully: " How was it poſſible, ſays he, that he ſhould " retrench ſo many penſions and ſalaries of officers who did no ſer- " vice for them, refuſe ſo great a number of perſons that preſſingly " claimed and demanded rewards, and have a watchful eye over the " many counſels that were given the grandees of the kingdom, which " counſels he often turned to the King's advantage, and to their great " diſſatisfaction, without being inveſted with a very extenſive autho- " rity, and ſhewing at the ſame time a lofty ſupercilious carriage? " The King too would have it ſo, to the end that all might be on an " equal footing, till he had diſcharged his duty towards his kingdom, " and enriched it: for which reaſon ſubjects ought not to murmer. " And in as much as the King teſtified his approbation of all M. de " Sully's actions, when his Majeſty declared to ſome of the great ones " that wanted to quarrel with him, that he himſelf would be a ſecond: " we are not at liberty to canvaſs ſuch proceedings, nor injure his " Majeſty's memory after his death, nor the Duke de Sully's honour

" during

taken up. To this impertinence I replied without any equivocation, by declaring to him, that every way I thought myself at leaſt his equal. This plainneſs threw D'Epernon into a rage, inſtead of that inſulting calmneſs he had affected at firſt; and he proceeded to menaces, which I heard with no more patience than the reſt. I anſwered him with great ſpirit: he replied in the ſame manner: and, without further explanation, each of us laid his hand on his ſword. If the perſons who were preſent had not thrown themſelves between us, and forced us to go out of the council at oppoſite doors, a very uncommon ſcene would have been acted in the place where this debate happened. Our quarrel being related to the King, who was then at Fountainebleau, his Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with the zeal which on this occaſion I ſhewed for juſtice, that he wrote to me that ſame hour with his own hand, and praiſing my conduct, offered to be my ſecond againſt D'Epernon, to whom he ſaid he would ſpeak in ſuch a manner, as to prevent him for the future from giving me any more inſults of that kind. D'Epernon perceiving the King was greatly offended with him for this proceeding, aſked my pardon in the preſence of his Majeſty, who obliged us to embrace each other.

Beſides thoſe revenues which the princes of the blood, with the King's ſiſter at their head, and the officers of the crown, had contrived for themſelves, the people were further incommoded by the manner of their collecting the revenues. There was not one of theſe perſons who was not a pen-

" during his life, ſeeing he acted nothing but for the ſervice of his " maſter.—— God grant." adds this writer, after ſhewing the wiſdom and neceſſity of the King's conduct, and that of his miniſter, " that " his treaſure may be preſerved with the ſame care that it has been " acquired." liv. vii. I thought this remark neceſſary to be made, as in the ſequel of theſe memoirs I ſhall aduce a great many other examples, like the diſpute we have juſt now ſeen mentioned.

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ſioner of the King, under the title of their employments, rewards, gratuities, or treaties made with his Majeſty on their returning to their obedience to him. And, by an effect of the licentiouſneſs of the paſt times, it was cuſtomary for theſe officers, inſtead of addreſſing themſelves to the treaſurer of the exchequer for the payment of their penſions, to pay themſelves out of the produce of the farms upon which they had aſſignments; ſome upon the tallage, ſome on the exciſe on ſalt, others upon foreign commodities, the crown lands, five large farms, eſcheats, tolls of rivers, revenues of Bourdeaux, patents of Languedoc, Provence, &c. The King had no other means of paying more conſiderable debts which he had contracted with foreign princes, namely, the King of England, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Duke of Florence, the Swiſs Cantons, the republic of Venice, and the city of Straſbourg. His Majeſty paid in the ſame manner thoſe penſions that policy required he ſhould allow foreign princes and communities; for France has always made herſelf a voluntary debtor to all Europe. From this it happened, that all theſe different creditors ſet up new farms for their own profit, in the midſt of the King's. They had their commiſſaries and receivers among thoſe of his Majeſty, and who applied themſelves with equal induſtry to pillage the people. Certainly there never was a more dangerous, and, at the ſame time, a more ſhameful abuſe, that every one, and particularly foreigners, ſhould be thus ſuffered to concern themſelves with the revenues of the ſtate: and monopoliſers of all nations multiply uſuries and extortions in the moſt audacious manner*, and, with impunity, arrogate to themſelves part of the royal authority.

Nothing

* This abuſe muſt have drawn after it ſome conſequences of ſo ruinous a nature, that we cannot too much bleſs the memory of him

Nothing seemed to me more necessary than to strike suddenly at the root of this evil, by a second declaration; in which all the foreigners, and natives, princes of the blood, and other officers, were prohibited, on pretence of any claim, title, or debt whatever, to levy money upon the farms, and other revenues of the state; and were enjoined to apply to the exchequer only for the payment of their pensions, arrears, &c I saw unmoved, the storm which such a declaration could not fail of raising against me. In effect, the decree was no sooner published, than every place resounded with clamours of the lords, and chief tax-gatherers; from whose complaints and exclamations, it should seem that they had been reduced to beggary, when they were only brought back to the conditions of their original agreement, and had their payments transferred to different funds. The King, who had great sensibility in his temper, was moved at these complaints, and could not suppose them to be so unreasonable as they were. He was apprehensive that my zeal had probably carried me to commit some imprudence; he therefore sent for me, and as soon as I approached, "Ah! friend, said he to me, "what have you done?"

It was not difficult for me to convince his Majesty, that I had acted upon principles of justice and regularity. That it was not fit his finances should have any longer so many masters, nor so many different mortgages. That the farms would produce him an income twice as great, as soon as their value should be raised by being in his hands, and that this profit had not before accrued to the different proprietors, but to their agents and clerks. And lastly, That whenever this was done, it was

who had the courage to charge himself with the public odium, entirely to extirpate it; instead of accusing him of a haughty behaviour and stern temper, without which it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished it.

not depriving them of what was their own, but taking away profits to which they had no right. The King comprehended the juſtneſs of this proceeding, but he was perplexed about the diſcontent he muſt neceſſarily give to Sir Thomas Edmonds, agent to the Queen of England; a certain German, factor to the Duke of Wirtemberg; Gondy, farmer to the Duke of Florence; and laſtly, the Conſtable, his godfather, the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in his court, and his own ſiſter.

I entreated his Majeſty to ſend for ſome of them, to whom I might ſpeak in his preſence. The Conſtable was but juſt gone out of his apartment: he was called back: "Well, godfather, ſaid the "King to him, what complaint have you againſt "Roſny?"---"I complain, ſays he, that he has "put me upon the level with the common people, "by taking from me a poor little aſſignment which "I had in Languedoc upon a tax, of which nothing "ever came to you." I anſwered the Conſtable with great civility, that I ſhould be the firſt to acknowledge myſelf guilty, if it had been my deſign that he ſhould loſe any thing. I aſked him what profit he made of this tax, knowing well that he was one of thoſe perſons from whom the contractors exacted the higheſt price for their ſervices. Monſieur de Montmorency anſwered my queſtion; and I aſſured him, that he might depend on being paid the whole ſum. "'Tis well, ſaid he; but who "will promiſe me that I ſhall be paid exactly as I "now am?" "I will," replied I, "and will "give you his Majeſty for ſecurity, who ſhall ne"ver turn bankrupt, I promiſe you, at leaſt if he "ſuffers me to manage his revenues as I propoſe to "do; and I will be counter-ſecurity to him, be"cauſe I expect, that if I make him rich, he will "be ſo kind to me that I ſhall never break."

The Conſtable, who was a plain honeſt man, was pleaſed with my anſwer, and ſincerely approved

ved my ſentiments. He even confeſſed to me, that he had let out the tax in queſtion for only nine thouſand crowns a-year, out of which he was obliged to give two thouſand to the treaſurer. "All "this I know," replied I, "and I am reſolved to "give you the nine thouſand crowns entire; yet "the King ſhall have eighteen thouſand, and there "will ſtill remain four thouſand for me." The Conſtable was amazed; he was not willing to own he had been ſo greatly impoſed upon; while the King, in the mean time, laughed heartily. However, the next day I brought a perſon to his Majeſty, who in his preſence took this farm at fifty thouſand crowns, in the name of the ſtates of Languedoc. The King offered to aſſign me, upon this ſum, the four thouſand crowns, which I had only propoſed in jeſt. I refuſed it, and told his Majeſty, that the diſorder in the finances, which I was endeavouring to remedy, having moſtly proceeded from the eaſy temper of the deceaſed King, in appropriating his farms to the gratuities he beſtowed on thoſe about him, as well financers as others, they would infallibly fall again into the ſame inconveniency, if it was not made a cuſtom for men of buſineſs, who ſerved his Majeſty uſefully, to receive their rewards only from his hands. The King agreed that I was in the right, and I loſt nothing by it; for having procured twelve thouſand crowns to be advanced upon this farm, he ſent Beringhen with a preſent of four thouſand to me.

I ſatisfied all thoſe perſons who were in the ſame ſituation as the Conſtable; and, indeed, what could be more reaſonable, than that his Majeſty ſhould himſelf receive his own revenues? As for all the reſt, whoſe intereſt made them deaf to arguments ſo convincing, I gave myſelf no more trouble about them. By this article the revenues of the crown had an addition of ſixty thouſand crowns.

This trouble was ſlight, compared with that

which I found in laying open the tricks of the farmers of the revenue, and their agents. The moſt likely means I could deviſe to accompliſh it, was to procure ſuch a general and exact account of the finances, as I have mentioned. But here lay the difficulty: I was not ſatisfied with that which I drew up, as has been obſerved, in the year 1596, for 1597; nor even for the year following, altho' it was much more exact than the others, becauſe I was under the neceſſity of regulating my calculations according to the reports, and by the accounts of the intendents and treaſurers; from all whom, without exception, notwithſtanding the caution I uſed in chuſing them for this purpoſe, I had reaſon to expect artifice and fraud. I therefore went to work again this year. I collected all the commiſſions of tallages ſent to the ſeveral diſtricts, and all the edicts by which money was raiſed throughout the kingdom To theſe I joined the tariffs or rates made in conſequence of theſe edicts, and the leaſes and under-leaſes granted by the council to the firſt and ſecond farmers. I compared all theſe pieces according to the knowledge which my former work had afforded me in this matter. And at laſt I thought, that I had come for once to the bottom of the buſineſs. There was ſome abuſes in the ordinary commiſſions of the tallage; theſe, however, were the leaſt; there were much greater in the extraordinary commiſſions granted before hand for the enſuing year; but the chief enormities appeared to ariſe from the under leaſes. The farmers that took them from the council, and the treaſurers of France, whom the farmers employed, collected twice as much as had been aſſigned them; and as theſe farmers-general granted under-leaſes of under leaſes, the ſeries of under-leaſes proceeding without end, produced a multiplication of charges, endleſs likewiſe, and afforded no other advantage than that of maintaining in profuſion

thoſe

thoſe who did nothing to deſerve it; firſt, the gentlemen of the council, then the farmers, and the reſt of the ſubordination, who kept the myſteries a profound ſecret into which they had been once initiated.

I was tranſported at this diſcovery; and by the authority of the King, to whom I had told it, I ſtopt the produce of the tallages paid upon extraordinary commiſſions, and, without having any regard to them, ſent word to the receivers, that they ſhould account for it as for any other money, and ſhould immediately remit it. I annulled for ever the under-leaſes; and ordered, that for the future every part of the revenue ſhould have only one farmer and one receiver. Great were the clamours on this occaſion; but the moſt diſcreet amongſt the farmers, knowing that theſe murmurs only ſerved to expoſe them to notice, and finding, that by the ſuppreſſion of a great part of the contractors, places were likely to become ſcarce, came in haſte to look for me, and took the ſame farms again upon their own account; with this difference, that their profit came to the King, the value of the farms being doubled *.

In proportion as my work was improved by my experience, I brought my general ſtate of the revenues towards perfection. It then came into my mind to go on no longer by the forms of accounts,

* Though we are more and more convinced of the juſtice of this, to wit, that the King ſhould take for his own advantage all poſſible ſhare in the profits of his farms and other revenues; yet we find, it ſeems, and that with ſome ground of reaſon, that ſince the Duke of Sully's time, there has not been made, in this reſpect, all that progreſs which he views, and the great care he took, had apparently given hopes to expect. We ſhall have occaſion to enter into this matter at ſome greater length, when our author comes to ſpeak of the farming of the tallage, and other taxes which is the true cauſe of all the difficulties that are to be met in attaining to the end he propoſed, and which all the miniſters after him made the object of their endeavours.

ſuch

ſuch as the receivers had drawn up themſelves, but to ſend them ſome contrived by myſelf; in which I endeavoured to have every thing, to the minuteſt particular, clear and diſtinct. When they were returned to my hands, I examined them over again with the utmoſt accuracy, noting the flighteſt inadvertency or omiſſion; ſo that there was ſoon nothing at all left out, even in the leaſt and moſt obſcure parts of the revenue, becauſe every thing was to be vouched by the writings which I ordered to be brought along with it, and which I compared with the utmoſt attention. Thus I blew up all the mines of the receivers, which were very numerous, ſuch as, pretended differences, bad money, drawbacks, immunities, privileges of office, payments of rent, charge of carriage, fees to judges, and coſts of auditing accounts; all theſe, and more, were very commodiouſly uſed to the advantage of the commiſſioners and clerks; becauſe no body had given himſelf the trouble to rate, according to their real value, all thoſe particulars which, being ſo extravagantly ſwelled, abſorbed a great part of the ſum received; and the people of the council, who ought to have examined them, knew the advantage of this jargon.

So little care was taken of the accounts of the receivers, that a man often quitted his employment, charged with vaſt ſums of arrears, which afterwards ſunk into oblivion. I put an end to this cuſtom. I obliged thoſe who came into office to inquire after their predeceſſors, and uſed the only method that could have any effect upon them. As long as any arrears remained, they had no other fund for their ſallaries and allowance. They then knew very well how to hinder theſe little bankruptcies, inſtead of favouriug them, as they had hitherto done.

Several receivers, and particularly thoſe of the chamber of accounts, upon whom aſſignments are moſt frequently granted, had the ingenuity to contrive ways of tiring out thoſe who brought the aſſignments,

assignments, by frequent delays, till they were content to take part of the money granted them, and to give an acquittance for the whole. I ordered that no payment should be deferred; and that no money should be taken for prompt payment. This prohibition put an end to all the accounts of the reimbursement of money payable by the precepts of the chamber, and to the multiplicity both of accounts and charges, by which the King's money was stolen to an incredible degree. From this time we had a clear insight into the finances, and confusion was at an end.

When the general state, of which I have been speaking, with the regulations and different models were drawn up, I went to read them before the council, in the King's absence. I easily perceived that my colleagues were offended at my diligence, and at my neglecting to desire their assistance in my work. However, they contented themselves with answering me dryly, and in a jesting manner, that my secretaries had an easy time of it with me. These papers were indeed all written with mine own hand *. But, as soon as I had left them, they acknowledged that my labour had been infinitely great and exact; and that it would be in vain for the future to pretend to hide any thing from me. Two days after, when his Majesty was present in the council, I read these papers again; upon which he asked them their opinions of my accounts. They allowed them to be very right, and said, that, for a soldier, I was extremely expert in business. I know not whether it was

* The present Duke of Sully preserves as a choice curiosity, a great part of these manuscripts, with many other originals of M. de Rosny's, which he takes pleasure to shew to such as visit him; he looks upon them as one of the principal ornaments of the museum which his taste for the sciences induces him to augment daily: and these are, in fact, so many glorious monuments of his illustrious family.

they

they who were the authors of a piece of ſlander that was current about that time, namely, that I had employed † Du-Luat to write a book, in which, under pretence of giving a new view of the finances, I railed, without charity or reſerve, at his Majeſty's beſt ſervants. The King aſſured me that all the endeavours of my enemies ſhould never alter his friendſhip for me. In effect, his Majeſty, from that moment, behaved to me in ſuch a manner, as to make me look upon him rather as a friend than a maſter. He intereſted himſelf in all my concerns, ſhared in all my joys, and bore a part of every affliction that befel me.

I ſhould be doubly ungrateful if I concealed the obligations I received from this prince. With regard to the finances, they were not confined to the ſupporting of all my proceedings with the utmoſt reſolution, (as it happened when the mayor and aldermen of Paris refuſed to communicate their accounts to me, under pretence that they had no connexion with the council of the finances,) nor in preventing all my deſires, or with the gentleſt goodneſs conſoling me under difficulties, as he generally did, by propoſing himſelf for an example. His knowledge and his advice, eſpecially in relation to the finances, had often been of great uſe to me; and I candidly confeſs, that without it I ſhould have in vain attempted an enterpriſe ſo difficult as a reformation in them.

* There is mention made in vol. 8778. des Manuſcrits de la bibliot. du Roi, of a book in which he gives many uſeful hints to the members of the council with regard to the finances: this, no doubt, is the book which our author means here. Du Luat is repreſented to us in the remarks on chap. 9. de la Confeſſion de Sancy, as a quick, ready, and agreeable flatterer, who, in a manner bewitched the Duke de Sully, his maſter, with a genealogy, in which he derived his pedigree from the houſe of Courtenay. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, tom. 2. p. 477.

Moſt of my deſigns were hinted by him *; and I keep, with the greateſt care, whole memorials written, although very long, with his own hand, upon ſubjects which equally employed us both.

After this I ought to own, with the ſame ſincerity, that moſt of thoſe praiſes which were given to the adminiſtration of affairs in the reign of Henry IV. ought with juſtice to revert to him. Others would have ſerved him with equal abilities, and as much fidelity as me; for it never happens that good ſubjects abandon their king; it is the king who abandons good ſubjects. The great difficulty will ever be, to meet with a prince, who in a miniſter capable of managing his affairs, ſeeks not for one who will comply with all his inclinations, and ſooth all his paſſions; who uniting great wiſdom to great penetration, calls none to thoſe employments but perſons whom he knows to have as much rectitude as capacity; in a word, who being poſſeſſed of great abilities himſelf, has not the weakneſs to envy that advantage in another. This jealouſy of merit in a ſovereign, which ſuppoſes, however, that he is himſelf maſter of ſome degree of it, creates, in one ſenſe, more diſorders in a ſtate, than the hatred he is known to have of particular vices can do good.

When I quitted Britany, I left there regulations for the finances, differing according to the nature and privileges of that provice; and afterwards ſent thither the Sieur de Maupeau, maſter of accounts, as well to enforce the obſervation of them, and raiſe the value of the farms in that province, as to haſten the payment of the money for which I had ſettled a fund. I likwiſe ſent, for the ſame purpoſe, Coeſnard, auditor of ac-

* M. de Perefixe, p. 225. likewiſe aſſures us, that Henry IV. had thoroughly ſtudied the ſubject of the finances.

counts, to Poictou, and Bizouz to Champaigne. I appointed Champigny over the toll of the rivers, in the district of Orleans or Touraine. But for this time I have said enough of the finances.

I will now proceed to incidents of another kind, which, by their singularity rendered this year remarkable. It is yet a question, of what nature that illusion might be which was seen so often, and by so many persons, in the forest of Fontainebleau: it was a spectre *, surrounded with a pack of hounds, whose cries were heard, and who were seen at a distance, but vanished when any one approached near to it. A whale was taken on the coast of Holland, eighty feet in length †. The Tiber overflowed in such a manner as to throw down a great number of houses, and laid part of the city of Rome under water. A report was spread in Europe, that the Jews, through hatred of the Christians, had offered the Grand Signior

* Perefixe mentions this apparition, and makes it speak, with a hoarse and frightful voice, These words, *M'attendez vous*, or *M'entendez vous*, or *Amendez vous*. He ascribes these visions to the delusive arts of sorcerers or evil spirits, Ibid. part 3. See likewise Journal Henry IV. and La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599. where it is said, that the King and his court, who laughed at this apparition as a fable, saw it one day distinctly among the bushes, in the shape of a tall black man; which so frightened them, that the strife was who could shew the lightest pair of heels. P. Matthieu assures us, tom. 2. p. 268 that one day at Fontainbleau the Duke of Sully, having heard the noise of it, came down, imagining it was the stamping of the King's horses, after his return from hunting. Bongars, epist. 184. ad Camerar. tells us, with an air of gravity, that this was the ghost of an huntsman that had been killed in the forest in the time of Francis I.

† See the description of this monstrous fish in the Chronologie Septennaire, p. 17. and the account of this overflowing of the Tiber, in Cardinal d'Ossat's letters, p. 365. "It was greater, says he, than "any recorded in history; so that the whole plain on which stands "the city of Rome was under water a pike's height in the streets, "and houses; and that not one among a hundred could go to hear "mass on Christmas-day. This inundation did inestimable damage," &c.

five

five hundred thousand ducats to destroy the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.

But the most interesting event, and with which this year was closed, was the death of Philip II. King of Spain, after suffering, for the space of eight or nine months, such agonizing * torments, as a principle of piety only could have enabled him to support with that patience he shewed for so long a time: however, this heroism of his was quite lost upon the vulgar. When they reflected, that through his avarice and ambition he had almost drowned the new world with the blood of its miserable inhabitants, and on his own subjects exercised equal cruelties, excepting taking away their lives, they looked upon those infectious ulcers, with which his whole body was covered, to be not so much a natural accident, as the effect of divine vengeance. He left a will behind him, which, in my opinion, is too curious a piece, to be passed over in silence; it is not certainly known whether he dictated it in his illness, and gave it with his own hand to his son, or whether it was found after his death, with his other private papers, in the box that he had put into the hands of Christopher de Mora, his favourite: but this circumstance, of small importance in itself, is likewise of no consequence towards proving the authenticity of this piece, which is clear from many others. The copy that fell into my hands was

* "For two and twenty days together there was, says Peresixe, a "flux of blood from all the vessels of his body; and a little before "his death imposthumes that broke in his breast, from which "there continually issued so great a swarm of vermin, that all the "care of his attendants could not destroy them." Ibid. M. de Thou, l. 120. adds to this a dysentery,, tenesmus, dropsy, &c. and he gives as moving a description of the deplorable condition of this prince, as of his patience and religious sentiments under it. Matthieu says, that he had no less than seven fistulas on two fingers of his right hand; and he ascribes this terrible disease to the debaucheries of his youth. He died on Sunday, September 13.

ſent me by the ſame perſon who ſent one to the King; this was Bongars, his Majeſty's agent to the Proteſtants in Germany, who had it from the Landgrave of Heſſe, and that Prince from the cities of Venice and Genoa; and it is in every reſpect ſo exactly conformable to thoſe which were ſent to different places, that it removes all doubt of its being forged by ſome of his Catholic Majeſty's enemies *.

In this piece Philip begins with a candid enumeration of all the faults he had committed, and places at their head his chimerical ſcheme of univerſal monarchy, the abſurdity of which he earneſtly endeavours to make his ſucceſſor ſenſible of, by his example, and by that of Charles V. his father, whoſe inſtructions he adds to his own, although he confeſſes he had not profited by them. To this will he joins the memoirs which had been juſt left him by that Emperor †, to the end that Philip III. might always keep them together. The Emperor Charles V. being in the flower of his age, and of a healthy and vigorous conſtitution, maſter of Spain and Germany, covered with glory, and elated with ſucceſs, formed the deſign of ſubduing the infidels, and reuniting all the powers

* Notwithſtanding what M. de Sully ſays here, the piece which in his memoirs is intitled, *Teſtament du Roi d'Eſpagne*, is neither the genuine latter-will of that prince, nor even a faithful extract of it; which may eaſily be diſcovered, by comparing it with the particular and circumſtantial one which M. de Thou gives us, l. 120. But it might happen that this writing, which was likewiſe called, *Inſtruction du Roi d'Eſpagne a ſon fils*, might really have been a ſecret, and have nothing more in common with the will and teſtament of this prince than its being, as is evident, in the ſame ſpirit, and in conformity to the ſame maxims, without the precaution that is comonly uſed in writings deſigned to be made public. As to the ſubſtance thereof, it is given us in the Chronologie Septennaire, in the, ſame manner as in theſe memoirs, only in a different ſtile and order.

† M. de Thou finds nothing in the laſt will of Philip II. comparable to the wiſdom of the diſpoſitions, and the dignity of expreſſion, ſhewn in that of Charles V.

of

of Europe, as well as all the religions, to his. After many years ſpent in fruitleſs attempts, he quitted his crown, and with it all his chimerical projects. Philip his ſon, ſuffered himſelf to be taken in the ſame ſnare, and ſucceeded ſtill worſe, which he was deſirous his ſucceſſor ſhould know. The difference of religions, laws, and manners among the Europeans; their almoſt equal knowledge of the art of war, the great number of ſtrong cities with which Europe is filled and which made as many long and painful ſieges neceſſary; the inconſtancy of the ſeveral nations, who are always ready to obey the firſt comer, who offers to aſſiſt them in repelling a domination which it had taken immenſe labours to eſtabliſh; all theſe Philip repreſented as unſurmountable obſtacles to ſo great a deſign.

He acknowledges that he had not been always of the ſame opinion: that the impetuoſity of youth had prevented him from making thoſe prudent reflections at firſt, and that afterwards two great victories, and the diviſions which tore the kingdom of France to pieces, contributed to continue his infatuation, and to make him reject with diſdain all the offers that had been made him for an advantageous peace. And, as he thought, he had reaſon to fear that his ſon would not make a better uſe of his underſtanding, it was by a declaration of all that a ridiculous ambition had made him unwiſely undertake, that he ſought to cure him.

He therefore acknowledges as a fault his having endeavoured to get himſelf declared Emperor of all the new world; he accuſes himſelf of a deſign to invade Italy upon frivolous pretences; to conquer the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a project which in ſix years had coſt him twenty millions in preparations only for a fleet with which he expected to overwhelm this power: this was the fleet called "The invincible armado, which, however,

ever, was reduced to nothing, at one ſtroke, in 1588, as ſoon as it ſet out; to bring the Low Countries into ſubjection; to overthrow the French monarchy, by taking advantage of the weakneſs of the laſt King, and prevailing upon his ſubjects, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtics, to revolt; and laſtly, to deprive his own uncle Ferdinand, and Maximilian, King of the Romans, his nephew *, of the empire. He obſerves, that theſe intrigues coſt him above ſix hundred millions of ducats (about 260 millions Sterling) †; a proof of which, he tells his ſon, he would find in the accounts which he left in his cabinet, drawn up and written by himſelf. He blames himſelf leſs for his profuſion of money, than that of human blood, which he cauſed to be ſhed: and indeed the confeſſion he makes, that he had ſacrificed twenty millions of men to his luſt of dominion, and laid more countries waſte than all thoſe he poſſeſſed in Europe, is enough to raiſe horror in every mind not wholly diveſted of humanity.

What has been the effect of all this? This is the reflection which he propoſes to his ſon. Providence, as if it had thought itſelf concerned to prevent ſuch wicked deſigns from ſucceeding, cauſed him to loſe Germany, by the jealouſy and hatred of his own relations; England by the winds and ſtorms; Ireland, by the treachery of its inhabitants, whom its great diſtance ſecured from his reſentment; France, by the inſtability of the people,

* "Philip II. was called, The devil of the South, *Dæmon meridianus*; becauſe he troubled all Europe, in the ſouth of which "Spain lie." Notes ſur la Henriade.

† P. Matthieu ſays, that the Indies yielded to the King of Spain two hundred and ſixty millions of gold in the ſpace of ſixty-four years; and that he might have conquered all Turkey with that treaſure only which he ſpent in Flanders. Tom. 2. l. 2. p. 266.

and

and their averſion to a foreign domination †, and laſtly, by the great qualities of their king. So that the mighty preparation he had made, and the torrents of blood that had been ſhed, procured him no other advantage than the acquiſition of the little kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

After this, Philip made a more particular application of theſe inſtructions to the perſon and ſituation of the heir to his throne; and reduced to the following articles the politics from which no King of Spain ought ever to depart, and Philip III. leſs than any other, on account of his tender age: theſe articles were, firſt to maintain with France the peace which Philip II. himſelf hoped to have concluded before his death, and this as well in conſideration of his own intereſt and quiet, as out of regard to his people: to keep up a good correſpondence with the Pope, and to ſtrengthen it by having always a great many cardinals in his intereſt: to be upon friendly terms with the Emperor and his family; nevertheleſs, not to ſuffer the penſions to paſs through his hands, which his intereſt required he ſhould continue to the electors, princes, and prelates of Germany, in order to keep them always attached to him by thoſe largeſſes; at the ſame time, to take care to foment diviſions among them, which would afford him the means of turning to his advantage thoſe opportunities

† In the genuine latter will of Philip II. is an article with regard to Henry IV. the omiſſion of which in our memoirs is ſufficient to prove, that the piece to which this name is given is ſuppoſititious; and that is, That this prince being troubled with ſtrong remorſe of conſcience for the uſurpation of the kingdom of Navarre, recommends to his ſon what had been before recommended to himſelf by his father, namely, to cauſe this point to be carefully examined by the moſt able lawyers, in order to reſtore the crown to its rightful owner, if it ſhould come out ſo, according to equity. Charles V. had ſaid as much to Philip II. and Ferdinand and Iſabel to Charles V. —— In this manner to refer the executing of a diſpoſition known to be juſt, to a ſucceſſor who, one might be aſſured, would pay no regard to it, is what M. de Thou calls an impudent trifling with the Deity.

that

that time might produce for acquiring the empire: to be more vigilant on the ſide of Germany, as there is a greater multiplicity of intereſts in the northern countries than in any other place. Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, were powers from which he thought there was little to be apprehended; the firſt, not only on account of its diſtance, but becauſe the policy of the princes its neighbours, as well as its own, being miſtaken, made the King of Poland rather the miniſter than the maſter of his ſubjects: the two others, by reaſon of their diſtance likewiſe, joined to their poverty and unſkilfulneſs in war, were as little to be feared. He took care not to ſay the ſame with regard to France, England, and Flanders, which he conſidered as powers very formidable to Spain, and againſt which he recommended it to his ſon, to be always upon his guard.

With reſpect to England *, his advice was, to neglect nothing to prevent the three crowns which compriſe the Britannic iſles from being placed on the ſame head; an event which this able politician, from a ſpirit of prediction, mentioned as very near; and for that purpoſe not to regret the money which was diſtributed in thoſe iſlands to make partiſans, and to continue filling them with ſpies, but of another ſort from thoſe that were then there, whoſe fidelity Philip II. thought he had reaſon to ſuſpect. To cultivate carefully thoſe diviſions which a diverſity of religions might produce in that ſtate, as well as in France: he conſidered thoſe which the league gave riſe to amongſt us as things now ſtale and uſeleſs, ſince we had a King Henry's capacity: but to give occaſion for many other civil diſcords in each of theſe two ſtates, and eſpecially ſuch as might keep them in war againſt each other, or at

* They alſo make him ſay at the point of death, when ſpeaking of England, *Pacem cum Angl., bellum cum reliquis:* "Peace with the "Engliſh, and war with all the reſt of the world."

leaſt in diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, which might be done, by favouring the pretenſions of one upon the other, to which their mutual hatred naturally incited them. To conſider as the greateſt misfortune imaginable, that ſtroke which ſhould join the United Provinces, and thoſe two powers already united amongſt themſelves, in one common intereſt; ſince from thence muſt naturally reſult a power capable, ſays he, of ſubjecting ſea and land. To find means to exclude all the princes of Europe from the navigation of the two Indies, an attempt which could meet with no obſtructions but from thoſe three powers; and leſs from France than the two others, becauſe ſhe had no marine; a new motive for gaining poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, and yet more of England.

However, amidſt all theſe counſels that Philip gave his ſucceſſor, he never adviſed him to enter into any war, not even with the rebels in the Low Countries, but earneſtly diſſuaded him from it. The conduct he recommended to be obſerved with the Provinces was, to grant a general pardon there; to require nothing of the people but that they ſhould acknowledge the Spaniſh authority; to watch the behaviour of the governors, miniſters, and officers, that were maintained there; not to continue them too long, nor to give them a too abſolute power, becauſe they would be the perſons whom they would have the moſt reaſons to fear, if ever they entertained a deſign of heading the party.

If, however, Spain could not avoid engaging in a war, Philip was not willing that his ſucceſſor ſhould be deprived of that knowledge which experience had given him in that reſpect. He appriſed him, that if he propoſed not to ſink under it, he muſt not undertake a war but in ſuch favourable opportunities as might, from time to time, preſent themſelves, ſuch as, changes in the government, civil diſſentions, faults or neceſſities of the ſove-

reigns, &c. This maxim of Philip, that a prince ſhould make himſelf acquainted even with the moſt particular inclinations of the princes his neighbours, is ſo true, and of ſuch vaſt importance, that no change ſhould ever happen in the ſtates about him, but what he ſhould be prepared for, and in readineſs to take advantage of that inſtant. He concluded this article by ſhewing the new king, that he is anſwerable for his actions at the tribunal of a God, who judges wars, and, unhappily, not by the ſame rules which warlike princes lay down for themſelves.

After theſe maxims, which regarded only the government abroad, Philip proceeded to thoſe which he thought neceſſary for the government at home. He held it juſt, that a King of Spain, having nations under his command, between whoſe cuſtoms and manners there was as great a difference as diſtance in their realms, ſhould ſtudy to govern each according to their reſpective character, and and all with gentleneſs and moderation: that he ſhould be acquainted with the talents and diſpoſitions of his counſellors and ſecretaries, and chuſe them himſelf; that he ſhould likewiſe expedite all his diſpatches, and render himſelf expert in the uſe of cyphers, that he might not expoſe a ſecret of conſequence to be betrayed by a confident; that he ſhould be careful to ſeek for men of honour and ſufficient abilities to beſtow employments upon: that he ſhould avoid giving any perſon any great cauſe of complaint, eſpecially thoſe of high quality; he obſerved, that the prince, his eldeſt ſon *, had ſuffered by it, and that he ſhould make a juſt diſtinction between the ancient and the new nobility, in order to advance the laſt, as being general-

* Don Carlos Prince of Spain: it was by order of his father that he loſt his life; and it appears that his crime was rather gaining over the affections of the grandees than treating them with contempt.

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ly ſuſceptible of pure and diſintereſted ſentiments: that he ſhould leſſen the number of the perſons that were employed in the revenues, adminiſtration of juſtice, and the officers of the houſhold; and recommended the ſame conduct to be obſerved with regard to the eccleſiaſtics; to which he added, that they, as well as others, ought to contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate, not only becauſe they could better afford it, on account of their riches, but likewiſe becauſe it became neceſſary for them to do ſo, if they would not forfeit the reſpect that was due to their character, by luxury, ſloth, and impiety, the ordinary fruits of great riches, and the indolence in which they lived; but that he ſhould increaſe the number of merchants, huſbandmen, artiſts, and ſoldiers, by whoſe induſtry, labour, and frugality alone, a ſtate is ſupported againſt the ruin with which it is threatened by the diſſoluteneſs of the other ranks. All principles, which, like theſe, tend to maintain ſubordination and œconomy in a ſtate, againſt corruption and diſorder, merit praiſe from whatever mouth they proceed.

Philip cloſed his will with the article relating to domeſtic diſpoſitions. He enjoined his ſucceſſor to fulfil the promiſes and other cauſes of the Infanta his ſiſter's marriage He propoſed a match for the young King, in which he had already made ſome advances, and privately regulated all the articles, which he informed him he would find in the hands of Loo. He obſerved, that though no king ever loved his father's favourite, yet he would recommend Chriſtopher de Mora for his confident, who had been his own. Philip III. choſe rather to prove the truth of the obſervation, than comply with the requeſt, and gave Mora's place to the Marquis of Doria. He required, as an inſtance of reſpect due to the memory of a father, that all thoſe perſons to whom he had given employments ſhould be continued in them; but he expreſſed

himſelf in ſuch a manner with regard to this article, as ſhewed he rather wiſhed than hoped for a compliance with it. He recommended to his ſon the Doctors Ollius and Vergius, who had attended him in his illneſs. He mentioned Antonio * Perés as a dangerous man, with whom it was neceſſary he ſhould be reconciled; and afterwards not to permit him to ſtay either in France, Flanders, and eſpecially Spain, but in the uſeleſs country of Italy. Philip concludes this piece with a ſhort maxim, To love God, to endeavour to be virtuous, and to profit by the precepts of a father. It muſt be confeſſed, that in this piece there are likewiſe many more ſtrokes † of piety and reſignation to the will of God, who, he ſaid, had in mercy chaſtiſed him in this life rather than the other.

The firſt of theſe articles which was executed by the King of Spain was that relating to his marriage with the Archdueheſs of Gratz: he ſent immediately after the death of his father to demand her in marriage; and in the beginning of the year following ſhe ſet out for Spain, accompanied by her brother, the Archduke Albert, with whom ſhe landed upon the coaſt of Marſeilles, for the benefit of that air. The Duke of Guiſe, who was governor of the province, having notice of it, ſent to let the King know of her arrival, and received

* Antony Peres had been chief miniſter to Philip II. with whom he fell into diſgrace for reaſons which have no manner of relation to the ſubject of theſe memoirs: he retired to Paris where he died in 1611. He was a great politician, and a man of very conſiderable parts: the following maxim was one of his, which includes a deal of meaning in three words, namely, *Roma, Conſego, Pelago*; that is to ſay, To gain over the court of Rome, compoſe the council of proper perſons, and to be maſter at ſea.

† "He ordered his coffin to be brought him, which was made of "copper, and a death's head to be laid upon a buffet, with a crown "of gold by it: ſays La Chronologie Septennaire, where, ann. 1598. we may find, together with an account of all that this prince ſaid and did in his laſt illneſs, the hiſtory alſo of his public and private life.

orders

orders to give this Princeſs a very honourable reception; his Majeſty deſtined fifty thouſand crowns to be expended for that purpoſe, and ordered them to be paid at Marſeilles. I was upon the point of ſending thither, to direct how this money was to be diſpoſed of, either La-Font, or another of my domeſtics, who was only a footman of my wife's, a man of low ſtature, and a mean figure, but in whom I had diſcovered ſo much capacity, fidelity, and prudence, that I thought I ought to endeavour his eſtabliſhment: but there was no occaſion for it, a perſon I had upon the ſpot was ſufficient; for the Archduchеſs, notwithſtanding the inſtances that were made her by the Duke of Guiſe and the city of Marſeilles, would not enter any of the great cities, to avoid the ceremonial, but ordered tents to be ſet up upon the ſhore, where ſhe reſted and heard maſs; the Archduke, indeed, was ſo devout as to viſit the churches at Marſeilles, but went to them incognito, and without any train; and after kiſſing the relics, returned without either eating or drinking.

This marriage united the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria by a double tie, the deceaſed King of Spain having already, on the 5th of May the preceding year, married the Infanta Iſabella, his daughter, to the Archduke Albert, who, for that purpoſe, had diveſted himſelf of the cardinal's purple. This Princeſs had, in appearance, a very large portion, ſince it was made up of no leſs than the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, Franche Comté, and Charolois: but the additional clauſes that were inſerted, that this new ſovereign ſhould be excluded from any commerce in the Indies, and not ſuffered to permit in his ſtates the exerciſe of any religion but the Roman Catholic, without which the donation was made void, reduced it, in effect, to nothing, by the difficulty he would

would find in obliging the Flemiſh to accept of ſuch hard conditions.

The Archduke, till he could go in perſon to Flanders, to remove all theſe obſtacles, ſent the high Admiral * of Arragon thither, in the quality of his Lieutenant-General, who performed ſome actions on the frontiers of Germany; and afterwards his couſin, the Cardinal André, who iſſued out many edicts, but without effect. The houſe of Auſtria began to think there was danger in delays; therefore the Archduke went himſelf into the Low Countries, taking with him his bride, on the fifth September this year; the remainder of which was ſpent in threatenings on his ſide, which likewiſe produced nothing; ſo that there was a neceſſity for coming to open force; and this was the beginning of that long and bloody war between Spain and the Flemiſh, the progreſs and event of which I ſhall take notice of each year.

At the ſame time that the marriage of his Catholic Majeſty was celebrated in Spain, that of the Princeſs Catharine with the Prince of Bar † was celebrated at Paris. It was upon this eſtabliſhment that the Princeſs at length fixed her deſtiny, hitherto ſo uncertain During the life of Queen Catharine it was firſt propoſed to marry her to the Duke of Alençon; but Henry III. would not conſent to it, on account of the hatred he bore to his brother. Afterwards, they talked of giving her to Henry III himſelf; but this the Queen-mother oppoſed, through the averſion ſhe had to the family of Navarre. This Princeſs, in her turn, refuſed

* Conſult the Chronologie Septennaire, both as to theſe military expeditions, and as to all that is here ſaid of the marriage of the King and the Infanta of Spain, for the years 1598, 1599. Matthieu, Ibid. p. 208. &c.

† Henry Duke of Bar, who became Duke of Lorrain, after the death of his father Charles II. "The King gave his ſiſter, at her "marriage, three hundred thouſand crowns of gold for her portion," ſays the hiſtorian Matthieu, Ibid. p. 278.

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the old Duke of Lorrain, becauſe he had children by a former marriage. The King of Spain demanded her, on condition of a ſtrict union between the King of Navarre and him, which the firſt of theſe princes would not hear of. The Princeſs was afterwards ſought by the Duke of Savoy; but in circumſtances wherein this marriage might prove prejudicial to the Proteſtant religion; and therefore the Proteſtants themſelves threw difficulties in the way. She would not have the Prince of Condé on account of his poverty; and refuſed the King of Scotland, without giving any good reaſon for it. The Prince of Enhalt made likewiſe his advances. And in thoſe tranſports of anger with which ſhe was ſometimes animated againſt the King her brother, ſhe reproached him, that he would have thrown her into the arms of three or four other foreign princes, or, as ſhe called them, gentlemen, for the payment of their ſubſidies. Laſtly, her inclination for the Count of Soiſſons made her reject the Duke of Montpenſier, who was a ſuitable match for her. At length, the neceſſity of procuring an eſtabliſhment determined her to accept the Prince of Bar.

This deſigned marriage was no ſooner made public, than the eccleſiaſtics in general, and the French biſhops in particular, then aſſembled at Paris, found, in the difference of religion of the two parties, a reaſon for hindering its concluſion, which they did not ſuffer to eſcape them. The firſt meaſure they took was, to hinder, at Rome, with all their power, the diſpatching of the diſpenſation, without which, they imagined, it was not poſſible to proproceed to the celebration of the marriage. In this reſpect, they could not truſt the care of their intereſts to one more faithful than D'Oſſat, who nevertheleſs was ſent to this court to manage thoſe of the King. But this is not the firſt time, nor will it be the laſt, that this eccleſiaſtic has ſuffered from

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me, and will again, the reproach of having not only exceeded but betrayed his commiſſion. If I may give credit to the memorial from Rome which has been already mentioned, D'Oſſat, in the name of the whole party of whom he was the inſtrument, neglected nothing to diſſuade the Pope from granting the diſpenſation, which he was particularly employed by his Majeſty to ſolicit. Theſe perſons gave his Holineſs to underſtand, that if he continued firm in his refuſal to grant this favour, it would produce two things equally to be deſired; one, that the Princeſs would turn Catholic; the other, that ſuch a change would be thought by the Proteſtants an effect of the violence uſed to her by the King her brother for that purpoſe; which would increaſe the diſtruſt they already openly ſhewed of his Majeſty, make them conſider him as their enemy and declared perſecutor, and bring on, at length, that inteſtine war which, according to them, was ſo much to be deſired, for the intereſts of the holy father and the true religion.

The clergy did not ſtop here; they made remonſtrances ſevere enough to merit the title of threats. His Majeſty had the complaiſance to liſten to them, and permitted a conference to be held, in which Dr. Du-Val on one ſide, and the miniſter Tilenus on the other, endeavouring to ſupport their cauſe, debated with much heat, and in my opinion, to little purpoſe; though each boaſted afterwards, that he had vanquiſhed his adverſary. I ſpeak as one who was a witneſs of the diſpute, for I ſuffered myſelf to be drawn along with the crowd which ran thither, as to a very intereſting ſpectacle. I did not come in till toward the concluſion, when the two diſputants were beginning to ſink under the fatigue. I know not for what reaſon they were deſirous of making me play the part of a judge upon this occaſion; probably becauſe they were informed I had been employed by his Majeſty

to draw up the articles of marriage between the Princeſs Catharine and the Prince of Bar. They were beginning to repeat to me all the points of a diſpute, which had already taken up ſeveral hours; but I earneſtly intreated them to ſpare me either this trouble or this honour, telling them, that if two ſuch learned men had not been able to reconcile the canon and decrees of the Pope with the holy ſcripture, or to prove that ſuch a taſk was impoſſible, it could not be expected, that ſuch an ignorant perſon as I ſhould be equal to it; and this was really my opinion.

This conference not having produced all the effects the clergy expected from it *, and finding likewiſe that they ſucceeded no better at Rome, they declared, that nothing ſhould be capable of prevailing upon them to give their conſent to this marriage. Little regard would have been paid to this; but as there was a neceſſity for getting a biſhop to perform this ceremony, and that all thoſe gentlemen held together, hence aroſe an obſtacle, upon which they founded their laſt hopes.

In this perplexity the King was adviſed to have recourſe to the Archbiſhop of Rouen, from whom, being his natural brother, and obliged to him for the biſhopric, more complaiſance was to be expected; beſides, his Majeſty, as well as all France, knew this prelate to be not very ſcrupulous (to ſay no more) in matters of religion. However, upon the firſt propoſition made him by the King, the Archbiſhop, like a devout rebel, overwhelmed him with citations, as often ill as well choſen, from the holy fathers, the holy canons, and the holy ſcriptures. The King, aſtoniſhed, as may be well imagined, at ſuch uncommon language from a man

* Perefixe ſays, that the king not being able to accompliſh her converſion, though he made uſe of threatenings, ſaid one day to the Duke of Bar, "My good couſin, it is your buſineſs to break her."

who generally talked of quite different matters, could hardly hinder himſelf from laughing in his face, aſking him, by what miracle it was that he had become ſo learned and conſcientious? Suppoſing, however, the Archbiſhop might be wrought upon by ſerious arguments to comply, he tried their efficacy; but finding him ſtill untractable, he grew angry, and reproached him with his ingratitude. "Since you carry it ſo high," added Henry, reſuming his firſt air of pleaſantry, "I will "ſend you a great doctor, your uſual confeſſor, "who is wonderfully ſkilful in caſes of conſcience." This great doctor and director of conſciences was Roquelaure, an old companion of Monſieur de Rouen's, and an actual ſharer in his debauches, by whoſe intreaty he had obtained the archbiſhopric. The prelate underſtood perfectly well the meaning of this little threat, and the embarraſſment he appeared to be in was a proof that he was under ſome apprehenſions of thoſe great advantages which an accuſtomed familiarity would give Roquelaure over him, without the addition of thoſe which he derived from that wit which all the court acknowledged to be free, ingenious, and fruitful in the moſt happy ſallies; and the Archbiſhop himſelf was not often guilty of carrying too far the reſpect due to the epiſcopal character.

The King having quitted Monſieur de Rouen, ſent for Roquelaure: "Do you know, Roquelaure, "ſaid he to him, that your Archbiſhop takes up- "on him to play the prelate and doctor, and would "quote the holy canons to me, which I believe "he underſtands as little of as you or I; how- "ever, by his refuſal my ſiſter's marriage is ſtop- "ped: therefore pray go to him, and talk to him "as you uſed to do, and put him in mind of paſt "times."

"By the Lord, Sire," replied Roquelaure, "this "is not well done of him: for it is high time, in

"my

" my opinion, that our ſiſter Kate ſhould taſte the " ſweets of marriage. But pray, Sire, tell me " what reaſons this fine fellow of a biſhop gave " you for his refuſal? he ſeldom has much better " to give than myſelf. I will go to him and teach " him his duty."

He did not fail to perform his promiſe. " What " is this I hear, Archbiſhop?" ſaid he, as ſoon as he entered his apartment: " they tell me you " have been playing the coxcomb; by the Lord, " I will not ſuffer it; it derogates too much from " my honour, ſince every one ſays you are go- " verned by me. Know you not that at your en- " treaty I became your ſecurity to the King, when " I prevailed upon him to give you the archbi- " ſhopric of Rouen; therefore I deſire you would " not make me out a liar, by continuing thus ob- " ſtinately to act like a fool: this might do be- " tween you and I, who are often ſeen quarrelling " at dice, but ſuch diſputes muſt not be thought on " when our maſter's ſervice and his abſolute com- " mands are in queſtion."

" Merciful God! replied Monſieur de Rouen, " what is this you would have me to do, Roque- " laure? What! muſt I make myſelf ridiculous, " and ſuffer the reproaches of all the other prelates, " by an action which the whole world agrees is " unjuſtifiable, and which every one of the biſhops " to whom it has been propoſed by the King has " refuſed?" " Hold a little, pray," interrupted Roquelaure: " there is a wide difference between " them and you; for thoſe men have puzzled their " brains ſo much about Greek and Latin, that they " are become fools——and you are the King's bro- " ther, and obliged to obey all his commands, " without any heſitation: the King did not make " you an archbiſhop to preach to him, and quote " the canons, but to do whatever his ſervice re- " quired: if you continue this perverſeneſs and

" obſtinacy, I will acquaint Jeanneton de Con-
" dom, Bernard l'Eveillee, and Maſter Julian with
" the whole ſtory: Do you underſtand me? don't
" let me tell you this a ſecond time: know, that
" nothing ought to be ſo dear to you as the King's
" favour, which, together with my ſolicitations,
" have done you more good than all the Greek
" and Latin of the others: By the Lord, it is a
" fine thing to hear you talk of the canons, of
" which you know as little as of high Dutch."
Monſieur de Rouen endeavoured to perſuade him, that he ought to quit that ludicrous ſtyle, which was agreeable enough when he was in his youth; and hinted ſomething concerning paradiſe to him. " How! paradiſe!" interrupted Roquelaure: " Are you ſuch an aſs to talk of a place, where " you have never been, where you know not what " is doing, or whether you ſhall be admitted when " you attempt to get in till another time!" " Yes, " yes," ſaid the Archbiſhop, " I ſhall be admitted " there, do not doubt of it." " You talk finely," ſaid his companion, preſſing ſtill harder upon him; " by the Lord, I believe paradiſe is as little deſign-
" ed for you as the Louvre for me: but let us lay
" aſide a little your paradiſe, your canons, and
" your conſcience, and do you now reſolve to
" marry the Princeſs to the Prince of Bar; for if
" you fail, I ſhall take from you three or four
" paltry Latin words that you have always in your
" mouth; farther the ſaid deponent knoweth not:
" and then adieu to the croſs and mitre; and, what
" is worſe, to your fine palace of Gaillon, and re-
" venue of ten thouſand crowns "

Many other things paſſed between theſe two men, which may be gueſſed at by this ſample. Roquelaure would not leave the Archbiſhop till he had made him promiſe to marry the Princeſs; and accordingly he was the perſon that performed the ceremony*.

remony *. I received from both parties very magnificent presents, in return for the pains I had taken; among others, a Spanish horse of great value, which was given me by the Duke of Lorrain: I sent him to his Majesty, who ordered me to keep him.

This was not the only occasion on which the clergy were against the King; they made a more resolute and likewise a more important opposition against the registering the edict of Nantes, which always appeared to them a difficult morsel to digest: as they had for almost a year held an assembly at Paris on this account, they had had time to prejudice the parliament, and other sovereign courts, as well as the Sorbonne, against this edict. All these bodies, as soon as it was published, rebelled, and occasioned disorders, that may be better imagined than described. It was the subject of all discourse; every one applied himself to criticise the piece, and to offer different arguments against it, all which were far from being just, as well as the reasons the parliament gave for not registering it: but that candour and sincerity I have professed to observe here in matters that nearest concern me, oblige me to confess, that they were not absolutely to blame.

For example, the Protestants, by one of the articles of the edict, were permitted to call and hold all sorts of assemblies, convocations, &c. when and where they pleased, without asking leave

* "The ceremony was performed one Sunday morning, says the "Chronologie Septennaire. The King came to fetch the Lady Catharine his sister, when she was dressed; and leading her by the "hand into his closet, whither her said future spouse had come before her, he ordered M. the Archbishop of Rouen, to marry them, "&c. and that it was his pleasure it should be so. This the Archbishop at first refused, alledging, that the usual solemnity ought to "have been observed therein. To which the King very learnedly "made answer, That his presence supplied the want of all other solemnity, and that his closet was a consecrated place."

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either of his Majesty or the magistrates; and likewise to admit in them all foreigners whatever, without acquainting any superior tribunal: as also on their side, to be present, without licence, at the assemblies which were held amongst the foreigners. It is very plain, that a point as absolutely contrary to all the laws of the kingdom, as prejudicial to the authority of the King *, the right of the magistracy, and the utility and quiet of the people, could not have been obtained but by stratagem; and it was upon this point likewise that the enemies of the Protestants insisted chiefly, in the several remonstrances they made to the King, each alledging those arguments in which they were most interested. The parliament remonstrated, that this article compleated the ruin of their authority, which the clergy had already confined to such narrow limits, as well as the King's (for it was pretended, that these two authorities were so closely connected that they could not be separated) that if appeals against the irregular exertion of ecclesiastical authority should be taken away, they would have only the shadow of any power. The clergy and the Sorbonne complained of the superiority this concession would give the Protestant over the Catholic church in France, which had never been possessed of so large a power in its jurisdiction; and

* This point, says le Septennaire, the Marechal de Bouillon had "managed with some persons, who perhaps were not aware of the "danger of it; but the Sieur Berthier, who was agent for the clergy, and Bishop of Rieux, disputed it so warmly with the Marechal, in the presence of the King, that after hearing his reasons, "and in regard of the importance of the point itself, his Majesty ordered it to be erazed." Ann. 1599. p. 66. This account of M. Cayet's agrees with that of F. Matthieu, tom 2. l. 2. p. 280. *et seq.* so that the article of the edict of Nantes, which was so warmly contested, being apparently the eighty-second, is at present as disadvantageous to the Calvinists, as it was formerly to them; since it forbids them all cabals, negotiations, intelligences, assemblies, councils, leagues, associations, either in or out of the kingdom, assessments, and raising of money, &c. without his Majesty's express permission.

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this was certainly true. Laſtly, they enumerated all the bad conſequences which this abſolute independence of the French Huguenots might produce, either amongſt themſelves, or their aſſociations with the enemies of France in Europe.

The King had not yet examined the edict with care: all he knew of it was from a ſlight reading, in which he had, doubtleſs, glanced over this clauſe, or probably wholly omitted it. The ſurprize he diſcovered to thoſe who talked to him in that ſtrain, ſhewed he had been deceived; and he promiſed them to conſider it attentively, and give them an anſwer. When they left him, he immediately ſent for me, and ſhewing me the edict, I concealed from him none of the ſentiments I have delivered here; I added, that by too great zeal to make that article advantageous for the Proteſtants, I thought he was doing them a miſchief, in that it would give large ſcope for all the ſlander that would be invented againſt the worthy men of the party, of their intriguing with foreigners againſt the ſtate, or of ſuffering themſelves to be ſuborned. Henry, ſtill more confirmed in his opinion, ſent me back with orders to prepare myſelf to ſupport all theſe motives in the aſſembly of the Proteſtants, which he would have to be called immediately; while he, in the mean time, went to demand an explanation of the edict from thoſe who had drawn it up.

Meſſieurs de Schomberg, de Thou, Calignon, and Jeannin (for the King ſent directly for them all four) were greatly diſconcerted by the reproaches the King made them of having abuſed his confidence. Schomberg and de Thou, in the name of them all, replied, that they had been obliged to act in the manner they had done, by the threats of Meſſieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, who declared in the name of the whole party, that if this article was denied to them, they would break all agreement, and even commence war againſt

gainſt the Catholics; which ſeemed to them of the utmoſt conſequence, the peace with Spain labouring at that time under great difficulties. The King contenting himſelf with this excuſe, ordered Berthier, ſyndic of the clergy, to report it to the aſſembly, and to add from him, that amongſt four perſons, to whom he had committed the care of drawing up the edict, there being no Proteſtant but Calignon, he could not perſuade himſelf that the three others would have given the Proteſtant religion ſuch an advantage over the Catholic. The anſwer made by the Biſhops ſhewed plainly, that they had not the ſame opinion of thoſe three gentlemen that his Majeſty had: they were treated in full aſſembly as falſe Catholics, who in many articles agreed with the Proteſtants, and had no ſcruple about the reſt. Whilſt we condemn this ſecond imputation * as it deſerves to be, we ſtill allow, that with regard to the firſt, every thing made againſt the writers of the edict; and that their reply to his Majeſty did not ſo effectually deſtroy the opinion that might be conceived of it, as the ſilence they obſerved in his preſence gave it ſtrength †.

The Duke of Bouillon, however, had certainly thoſe ſentiments they attributed to him. By en-

* If a certain private converſation be true, which D'Aubigné makes the preſident de Thou to hold with the Duke de la Trémouille, when he was ſent by his Majeſty to the aſſembly of the Calviniſts, the ſuſpicions of the clergy would not be ill founded: "You have too much "judgement, ſays the preſident to him, not to know very well, that "conſidering the point at which matters now ſtand, and the conceſ-"ſions we have already made you, the demands which you may make "are not at their utmoſt height—M. de Schomberg is a Lutheran, "and very far from being a good Calviniſt; as for my own part, you "ſhall know the inmoſt thought of my heart." Tom. 3. l. 5. c. 1. But it is very probable that D'Aubigné has related this converſation upon the credit of perſons not to be depended on, as alſo ſome other points of his hiſtory, which at that time drew an arret of parliament upon that work.

† M. de Sully's ſincerity in all this is ſo remarkable, that we cannot, in my opinion, ſufficiently admire it in a proteſtant.

deavouring to come at the bottom of the affair, I learnt that he had in reality discovered an insurmountable obstinacy; but was there no other means to make the others more reasonable? and then, what could he do by himself? If all the Protestants were like the Duke de Bouillon, what could the writers of the edict mean by this blind compliance with their inclinations; was the King and the realm to be betrayed for necessity? as nothing could be thought worse than that by honest and skilful negotiators, they can hardly be charged with such a notion. For my own part, I always thought Bouillon the sole favourer of the project contained in that article, as he had been the author of it; he considered only himself, and disregarded others. I will now shew the ultimate design of all his politics.

The Duke of Bouillon, in order to terminate in his favour the dispute for precedency between him and the dukes and peers of France, as well as the marechals that were more ancient than him, formed a design to get his sovereignty of Sedan † declared a fief of the empire. But this prerogative was not to deprive him of all communication with the Protestant French lords, otherwise he would lose more than he gained. The medium he thought upon to reconcile his interest with his ambition, was to have his church of Sedan comprehended in the Protestant churches of France. This he did by means of the article in question: mean time he would continue to make himself be treated as a foreign prince.

Berthier came back to the King, to give him an account of the disposition in which he found the prelates of the assembly, together with the result of their deliberations; which was to take from

† Consult l' Histoire du Duc de Bouillon, which we have quoted several times already, l. v.

the four perſons who drew up the edict all cognizance of the affairs of religion: and the diſputed article, and ſome others leſs eſſential, ſhould be mended; which his Majeſty likewiſe promiſed.

Nevertheleſs, the aſſembly of the chief Proteſtants then at Paris having been ſummoned the day after that, in which this agreement betwixt the King and the commiſſaries was made, I received, as uſual, a note inviting me to be there. I had left off going to theſe aſſemblies, ever ſince I perceived that my preſence laid a reſtraint upon three or four of the leading men in it, and was good for nothing but to produce altercations. I deceived them, by preſenting myſelf at this. The Duke of Bouillon eaſily comprehended the deſign which had brought me there thus contrary to my uſual cuſtom, and hinted as much with an ironical ſeverity; which I anſwered, by excuſing myſelf on account of the multiplicity of affairs that took up my time, and by feigning not to know the occaſion on which the preſent aſſembly was held. I gave no attention to the ſullen air which the Duke de la Tremouille aſſumed, nor the expreſſion he let fall to intimate, that he was not perſuaded of the truth of what I ſaid; but went and ſeated myſelf near Meſſieurs de Mouy, de Clermont, and de Sainte-Mare-Du-Mont, who informed me of the buſineſs that was to be brought upon the carpet; aſſuring me that the article which had made ſo much noiſe, was diſapproved of by almoſt all the Proteſtants; and that none but Meſſieurs de Bouillon, de la Tremouille, du Pleſſis, and ſome others of the cabal, inſiſted on it, in order to bring on a civil war. They could not obtain their point, notwithſtanding the tumults they had occaſioned, and the clamours they made in the aſſembly. When it came to the vote, it was carried againſt them, the contrary opinion prevailed

prevailed, and with reaſon: for the beſt arguments were on our ſide *.

They likewiſe agreed upon ſome qualifications with regard to two or three other articles, in which the public good did not ſeem to be ſufficiently conſidered. The juſtice and mildneſs of Henry's conduct was acknowledged by every one. After the affair was thus ſettled, he explained his motives to the greater number; and for the reſt, he thought only of hindering them from doing worſe.

He acted with the ſame prudence with reſpect to ſome diſaffected Catholics, who being unwilling to appear openly themſelves, brought one Martha

* The edict of Nantes was at length verified on Thurſday the 25th of February this ſame year, after many difficulties ſtarted by the clergy, the univerſity, and parliament. It was upon this occaſion that Henry IV. told the biſhops; "You have exhorted me concerning "my duty; let me now exhort you concerning yours: let us excite "a mutual emulation in each other, which of us ſhall perform their "parts the beſt. My predeceſſors gave you good words; but I, with "my grey jacket on, will ſhew you good deeds: though I am all "grizzled without, yet I am all gold within: I will look into your "papers, and anſwer them as favourably as I can." The following was the return he made to the parliament, when they came to make him remonſtrances: "You ſee me in my cloſet, where I come to "ſpeak with you, not in my royal robes, nor with my ſword and o-"ther military habiliments on, as my predeceſſors were wont, nor "like a prince who is to receive an ambaſſador, but clad like the fa-"ther of his family, in his plain doublet, to ſpeak familiarly with "his children; what I have to ſay to you is, to intreat you will re-"giſter, with the uſual ſolemnities, the edict which I have granted "to thoſe of the Calviniſt religion. What I have done is for the ſake "of peace, which I have concluded with the neighbouring powers a-"round me, and would have the ſame obſerved within my own do-"minions." After he had told them the reaſons that induced him to make this edict, he added; "Such as would hinder my edict, "from paſſing are for war, which I will to morrow declare againſt "the Proteſtants; but I will not carry it on, I will ſend them to it. "I made the edict, and would have it obſerved: my will ought to "be a ſufficient reaſon; for in an obedient ſtate they never aſk their "prince any other. I am King, I ſpeak to you as ſuch, and I will "be obeyed." Peref. ibid. and Journal de Henry IV. ibid. See alſo in M. de Thou, and in le Septennaire, anno 1599, the ſeveral modifications which were added to the edict of Nantes, and all the conferences held on this occaſion.

Broſſier, a pretended demoniac, in play, who was become the object of the people's curioſity, who are always ſtruck with the marvellous, whether true or falſe. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a matter ſo ridiculous in itſelf, and which was even below the conſideration of the mob, ſhould be talked on for a year and a half, and become an affair of ſtate: one half of the world ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by every thing that ſeems to be ſupernatural, and others are kept in awe, not by the thing itſelf, but by the motives upon which it is founded. Martha Broſſier met with many protectors among the clergy, even as far as Rome, whither ſhe took care to be carried. The King, without any extraordinary notice, allowed * both the time and means neceſſary

* We have a very curious account of all that relates to this pretended demoniac in M. de Thou, at the beginning of book 123. ann. 1599. an abſtract of which is as follows: one James Broſſier, a baker at Romorantin in Sologne, taking a diſlike to his own trade, turned conjurer, with a deſign to travel about the country with his three daughters, Martha, Silvini, and Mary: the eldeſt, who is the perſon ſpoken of here, had ſucceeded ſo well, by the inſtructions which her father had given her, to counterfeit a demoniac, that ſhe impoſed upon every body at Orleans and Cleri, except Charles Miron, Biſhop of Angers, who found out the impoſture, by putting common water in the place of holy water, and holy in the place of common; by repeating a verſe from Virgil inſtead of the beginning of the exorciſm, and touching her with a key inſtead of his epiſcopal crofier. This did not hinder her from coming to Paris, where ſhe pitched upon the Church of St. Genevieve for the ſcene on which to ſhew herſelf to the people, who flocked thither in great numbers. She impoſed upon all the credulous eccleſiaſtics, and upon the capuchins, who began to exorciſe her in good earneſt; and even upon ſome phyſicians whom Henry IV. had ſent to ſee her: though all the reſt depoſed formally againſt her, eſpecially Michael Mareſcot, one of the phyſicians, who publickly convicted her of not underſtanding Greek or Latin, and having no greater capacity than what is common to her ſex; and, in ſhort, of being an impoſture and arrent cheat. But notwithſtanding all this, the eccleſiaſtics and preachers knew ſo well how to intereſt religion in this affair, and the pretended demoniac played her part ſo well, that the arret of parliament, that enjoined her, as alſo her father, to return home, how wiſe and reaſonable ſoever it was, occaſioned ſtrange murmurings, and almoſt a revolt in Paris: and this gave the King a deal of uneaſineſs, who ſaw, that what enemies he had remaining of the old league, did appear again on this occaſion. Alexander de

neceſſary to make itſelf known: after which the whole trick ended in the general contempt of its authors and actreſs.

The death of a great many perſons of diſtinction afforded matter for other diſcourſe. The Chancellor de Chiverny, Schomberg, and D'Incarville, all three members of the council of finances, dying within a ſhort time of each other, occaſioned a great alteration of affairs: the ſeals were given to Bellievre; the office of comptroller-general, which D'Incarville had poſſeſſed, was, at my ſolicitation, granted to De-Vienne; and that of ſuperintendent of the finances was reſtored in my favour. Henry having ſent for me to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he was walking, told me, that he was reſolved to entruſt the care of the finances to one man only; and aſſuming a very ſerious manner, made me promiſe to give freely my opinion of that man, whom he ſhould name to me. Having aſſured him that I would, he ſmiled, and, tapping my cheek, told me, that I had reaſon to know him well, ſince it was myſelf. His Majeſty beſtowed upon me likewiſe the poſt of ſurveyor of the highways, for which he ſent me the patents, together with thoſe of ſuperintendent of the fortifications. And Sancy, reſigning himſelf up to his uſual whims *, having thought proper to retire from the council, and to give up the office of overſeer of the works, the King added theſe employments likewiſe to the other favours he loaded me with. The appointments for the ſuperintendency were ſettled at the

de la Rochefoucaut, Lord of St. Martin, and Count de Randan, even undertook to revive this affair, by cauſing Martha to be ſent to Avignon, and thence to Rome, where ſhe gained ſtill more partiſans. But unluckily for her, Cardinal D'Oſſat was there, who employed himſelf ſo effectually in this affair, that at length Martha and all her family, ſaw themſelves utterly abandoned; and they lived and died deſpiſed and quite miſerable. Conſult alſo the other hiſtorians.

* Joſeph Scaliger ſpeaks, as well as our author, of M. de Sancy as a fanatic, and as very ſubject to enthuſiaſtic reveries.

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rate of twenty thouſand livres; thoſe of ſurveyor of the high-ways, and of Paris in particular, were ten thouſand livres.

His Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this method of fixing the rate of ſalaries, that he was likewiſe deſirous of regulating, in the ſame manner, the gratuities he propoſed to give me, as well, he ſaid, to prevent me from expecting a gratuity for every conſiderable ſervice I did him, as to ſpare himſelf the trouble of cauſing all the preſents he made me to be regiſtered, ſince, without that, I would not receive any more from him, however little their value was: he therefore declared to me, that all thoſe rewards and preſents ſhould, for the future, be compriſed in one ſettled gratuity, which ſhould be paid me the beginning of every year, in the form of letters patent, regiſtered by the parliament; and aſked me beforehand if I was ſatisfied with the ſum, which was ſixty thouſand livres: adding, that it was his deſire that with this money I ſhould purchaſe eſtates, which I ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of in favour of thoſe of my children who made themſelves moſt worthy of my affection, in order to keep them more firmly attached to me. This goodneſs of the King's merited my moſt grateful acknowledgements. However, this regulation which I have mentioned here, was not made till the year 1600, and did not begin to take place till the year 1601.

Mademoiſelle de Bourbon * died likewiſe this year; and Monſieur D'Eſpinac †, archbiſhop of Lyons, who may be ſaid to have taſted of all kinds

* She was daughter to Henry I. the prince of Conde, by his firſt wife, the princeſs of Nevers, Marchioneſs de L'Ile, &c.

† Peter D'Eſpinac: he had been a great partiſan of the league: however, P. Matthieu aſſures, that he had done conſiderable ſervices to Henry IV. againſt Spain, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 308, where he gives an elogium of his virtues. M. de Thou, on the contrary, repreſents him, in book 90. as an inceſtuous and ſimoniacal perſon.

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of fortunes; then Madam la Connetable; and after her Madam de Beaufort: theſe two laſt deaths made a prodigious noiſe every where, and were attended with a great ſimilarity of very uncommon circumſtances; both were ſeized with a violent diſtemper, that laſted only three or four days; and both, though extremely beautiful, became horridly disfigured, which, together with ſome other ſymptoms, that at any other time would have been thought natural, or only the effects of poiſon, raiſed a report in the world, that the deaths of theſe two young ladies, as well as their elevation, was the work of the devil, who made them pay for that ſhort felicity he had procured them. And this was certainly believed, not only amongſt the people generally credulous to a high degree of folly, but the courtiers themſelves: ſo prevalent at that time was the infection of trading in the occult ſciences, and ſo great was the hatred and envy to theſe two ladies, on account of the high rank they enjoyed.

This is what was related of the Conſtable's lady, and (as it is ſaid) by the ladies that were then at her houſe: ſhe was converſing gaily with them in her cloſet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain perſon who called himſelf a gentleman, and had indeed a good preſence, ſaving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic ſtature, had juſt entered her anti-chamber, and deſired to ſpeak to her about affairs of great conſequence, which he could not commuicate to any but her. At every circumſtance relating to this extraordinary courier, which the woman was ordered to deſcribe minutely, the lady was ſeen to turn pale, and was ſo oppreſſed with grief, that ſhe could ſcarce tell her woman to entreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his viſit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the meſſenger with horror, that ſince the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to

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go and ſeek her in her cloſet. She, who was ſtill more afraid of a public than a private audience, reſolved at laſt to go to him, but with all the marks of a deep deſpair.

The terrible meſſage performed, ſhe returned to her company, bathed in tears, and half dead with diſmay; ſhe had only time to ſpeak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to aſſure them, that ſhe would never ſee them more. That inſtant ſhe was ſeized with exquiſite pains, and died at the end of three days, inſpiring all who ſaw her with horror at the frightful change of every feature in her face. Of this ſtory the wiſe thought as they ought to think.

Madam de Beaufort was the weakeſt of her ſex with regard to divination; ſhe made no ſecret of her conſulting with aſtrologers, and always had a great many of them about her, who never quitted her; and what is moſt ſurpriſing, although ſhe always, doubtleſs, paid them well, yet they never foretold her any thing but what was diſagreeable: one ſaid, that ſhe ſhould never be married but once; another, that ſhe ſhould die young; a third, that ſhe ſhould take care of being with child; and a fourth, that ſhe ſhould be betrayed by one of her friends. Hence proceeded that melancholy which oppreſſed her, and which ſhe could never afterwards get rid of. Gracienne, one of her women, has ſince told me, that ſhe would retire from all company, to paſs whole nights in grief, and in weeping, on account of theſe predictions.

Being then far advanced in her pregnancy, many perſons will be at no loſs to gueſs the cauſe of that misfortune which attended her. She was already greatly indiſpoſed both in body and mind, when, at the letter end of lent, ſhe was deſirous of making one of the party with the King at Fontainebleau: ſhe ſtaid there but a few days. The

King, who was not willing to incur the cenſure of keeping this lady with him during the Eaſter holidays, intreated her to leave him to ſpend them at Fontainebleau, and to return herſelf to Paris *. Madam de Beaufort received this order with tears: it was ſtill worſe when they came to part; Henry, on his ſide, more paſſionately fond than ever of this lady, who had already brought him two ſons and a daughter, named Henrietta, did himſelf equal violence. He conducted her half way to Paris †; and although they propoſed only an abſence of a few days, yet they dreaded the moment of parting, as if it had been for a much longer time. Thoſe who are inclined to give faith to preſages, will lay ſome ſtreſs upon this relation. The two lovers ſeveral times renewed their parting endearments, and in every thing they ſaid to each other at that moment, ſome people have pretended to find proofs of thoſe preſages of an inevitable fate.

Madam de Beaufort ſpoke to the King as if for the laſt time *; ſhe recommended to him her children, her houſe of Monceaux, and her domeſtics: the King liſtened to her, but, inſtead of comforting her, gave way to a ſympathiſing grief. Again, they took leave of each other, and a ſecret emotion again drew them to each other's arms. Henry would not ſo eaſily have torn himſelf from her, if the Marechal d'Ornano, Roquelaure, and Frontenac, had not taken him away by force. At length they prevailed upon him to return to Fontainebleau; and the laſt words he ſaid were, to recommend his miſtreſs to the conduct of La-Varenne,

* According to P. Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 316, ſhe came to Paris, in order to have the articles of the purchaſe of Chateauneuf in Perche expedited.

† At Melun ſhe lay the day before, whence the King conducted her to the boat in which ſhe embarked to come down to the arſenal.

*. D'Aubigné ſpeaks in the ſame manner of this parting, tom. 1. 5. c. 3

with orders to provide every thing she wanted, and to conduct her safely to the house of Zamet, to whom he had chosen to confide the care of a person so dear to him.

I was at Paris when the Duchess of Beaufort arrived there; and intending to go with my wife a few days after to receive the communion at Rosny, whither I carried the Prince and Princess of Orange, to whom I was desirous of shewing the new buildings which the King's liberality had enabled me to raise there, I thought I was under a necessity of waiting upon this lady to take my leave of her. She no longer remembered any thing that had passed at Saint-Germain, but gave me a most obliging reception: not daring to explain herself clearly upon that compliance with her projects to which she so ardently wished to bring me, she contented herself with endeavouring to engage me in her interests, by mingling with those civilities which she shewed but to few persons, words that carried a double sense, and hinted to me a boundless grandeur, if I would relax a little of the severity of my counsels to the King with regard to her. I, who was as little moved with the chimeras that filled her head as with those she thought to inspire me with, pretended not to understand any part of a discourse so intelligible; and answered her in equivocal terms, with general protestations of respect, attachment, and devotion; which signify what one will.

At my return home, I desired my wife to pay the same compliment to the Duchess: she was received with equal tenderness: Madam de Beaufort intreating her to love her, and to be with her as a friend, entered into confidences that would have seemed the last instance of the most intimate friendship to those who, like Madam de Rosny, were ignorant that the Duchess, who had no great share of understanding, was not very delicate in the choice of her confidents: it was her highest pleasure,

ſure, to entertain any perſon ſhe firſt ſaw with her ſchemes and expectations; and the more thoſe ſhe converſed with were her inferiors, the leſs reſtraint ſhe laid on herſelf; for then ſhe no longer guarded her expreſſions, and often aſſumed the airs of a queen.

She had as little caution with reſpect to what really happened, as to what ſhe was in expectation would happen; too much ſimplicity on ſuch occaſions gave riſe probably to thoſe reports which were ſpread in the world concerning ſome irregularities in her conduct when ſhe was very young. Theſe cenſures, however, appeared to me to be the mere effect of the malice of her enemies; for it could not be imagined, that a woman would carry her imprudence and folly ſo far, as to ſay both good and ill of herſelf indifferently; and I never thought I had any reaſon to reproach myſelf with having, for ſix years, confined a woman named La-Rouſe, who was one of her ſervants, and her huſband, in the baſtile, who, after the death of this lady, continued to load her memory with the utmoſt infamy: for although all they ſaid had been true, yet the reſpect that was due to her family, and ſtill more to the tenderneſs th King had for her, and the children ſhe brought him, ought to have ſilenced their ſlanders.

Madam de Roſny could not help being ſurpriſed at the Ducheſs's diſcourſe, and was ſtill more ſo, when this lady making an aukward aſſemblage of the civilities which are practiſed between equals, and theſe airs of a queen, told her ſhe might come to her *coucher* and *lever* whenever ſhe pleaſed; and many other ſpeeches of the ſame kind My wife, as well as every one elſe, concluded there would be a great change in the Ducheſs's fortune, and returned home full of theſe reflections, which ſhe communicated to me. I had not even diſcloſed to my wife what had paſſed between the King and me

upon this ſubject, as well as the ſcene at St. Germain: I promiſed her to acquaint her with the true ſtate of things, provided ſhe would not tell the Princeſs of Orange what Madam de Beaufort had ſaid to her; and we ſet out together for Roſny.

Two days after, which was the Saturday before Eaſter, as I was performing my promiſe to Madam de Roſny, and acquainting her with the Ducheſs's deſign to get herſelf declared Queen, all the practices of her relations and dependents for that purpoſe, the ſtruggles the King had in his own mind, and the reſolution he had at length taken to overcome himſelf, adding ſome reflections upon the calamities which a contrary conduct would bring upon the kingdom, I heard the bell of the firſt gate of the caſtle without the moat ring; and none of my ſervants anſwering, as it was yet ſcarcely day, the bell was rung with more violence, and a voice ſeveral times repeated, *I come from the King*. Immediately I wakened a footman, and while he went to open the gate, I ſlipped on a night-gown, and ran down ſtairs, greatly alarmed at being ſent to ſo early in the morning.

The courier ſaid that he had travelled all night to tell me that the King deſired I would come inſtantly to Fontainebleau: his countenance had ſo deep a concern on it, that I aſked him if the King was ill? "No," replied he, "but he is in the "utmoſt affliction: Madam the Ducheſs is dead." The news appeared to me ſo improbable, that I made him repeat it ſeveral times; and when convinced that it was true, I felt my mind divided between my grief for the condition to which her death reduced the King, and my joy for the advantage all France would gain by it, which was increaſed by my being fully perſuaded in my own mind, that the King, by this tranſitory ſorrow, would purchaſe a releaſe from a thouſand anxieties, and much more

more anguiſh of heart than what he now actually ſuffered. I went up again to my wife's chamber full of theſe reflections, "You will neither go to "the Ducheſs's *coucher* nor *lever*," ſaid I, "for "ſhe is dead." I brought the courier up with me, that while I dreſt, and he breakfaſted, he might inform us of all the circumſtances of this great event, which was ſtill better related in the letter La-Varenne had written from Paris to the King, and which his Majeſty ſent me by the courier, together with a ſecond from La-Varenne, directed to myſelf.

Zamet * had received his gueſt with all the aſſiduity of a courtier who is ſolicitous to pleaſe, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to make her paſs the time agreeably. On Maundy-Thurſday Madam de Beaufort, after dinner, where ſhe had eaten of the greateſt delicacies, and all prepared to her taſte, had an inclination to hear the evening ſervice at St. Anthony's the leſs: ſhe was there ſeized with fainting fits, which obliged her to be carried back immediately to Zamet's As ſoon as ſhe arrived, ſhe went into the garden, and was immediately attacked with an apoplectic fit, which it was expected would have inſtantly ſtifled her. She recovered a little, through the aſſiſtance they gave her; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a notion that ſhe was poiſoned †, commanded them to carry her

* Sebaſtian Zamet, a rich private gentleman, was an Italian and a native of Lucca; but he got himſelf naturalized in 1581, together with his two brothers Horace and John Antony. He deſired the notary who drew up his daughter's contract of marriage to ſtyle him Lord of Seventeen hundred thouſand crowns. Henry IV. had pitched on his houſe for his meals and parties of pleaſure: this prince beſides loved him becauſe he was a facetious and merry man.

† D'Aubigne gives us to underſtand this, when he ſays, that after ſhe had refreſhed herſelf with Zamet, by eating a large citron, or according to others, a ſallad, "ſhe immediately felt ſuch an inflam-"mation in her throat and ſuch violent twitchings in her ſtomach, "that," &c. But neither De-Thou, Baſſompierre, Le Septennaire, nor

her from that houſe to Madam de Sourdis her aunt, who lived in the cloiſter Saint Germain.

Scarce had they time to put her in bed when thick ſucceeding convulſions, ſo dreadful as amazed all that were preſent, and in a word all the ſymptoms of approaching death, left Varenne, who had taken up the pen to write the King word of the accident that happened, nothing elſe to ſay but that the phyſicians all deſpaired of his miſtreſs's life, by the nature of her diſtemper, which required the moſt violent remedies, and the circumſtance of her being far gone with child, which made all applications mortal *. Scarce had he ſent away the letter, when Madam de Beaufort drawing near her laſt moments, was ſeized with new convulſions which turned her black, and disfigured her ſo horribly that La Varenne, not doubting but the King, upon the receipt of his letter, would ſet out immediately to ſee his miſtreſs, thought it better to ſend him word in a ſecond billet that ſhe was dead, than to expoſe him to a ſpectacle at once ſo dreadful and afflicting as that of a woman whom he tenderly loved expiring in agitations, ſtruggles, and agonies, that left hardly any thing of human in her figure.

La-Varenne, in the letter he ſent me by the ſame courier, informed me that the Ducheſs was not dead, but by what he could judge had not an hour

nor any other hiſtorian, imputes her diſorder to poiſon. Le-Grain aſcribes it to the crude and cold juice of the citron. Sauval ſays, that he knew ſome old men who remembered to have ſeen the Ducheſs lie in ſtate in the nunnery of Saint Germain.

* "The phyſician La Rivere came in great haſte upon this occaſion," ſays D'Aubigne, "with others of the King's phyſicians, and entering but three ſteps into her chamber, when he ſaw the extraordinary condition ſhe was in, went away ſaying to his brother phyſicians, This is the hand of God." Tom. 3. l. v. c. 3.

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to live †; in effect, she expired a few moments after, in a general subversion of all the functions of nature capable of inspiring horror and dismay. The King, who upon the receipt of La-Varenne's first letter, had not failed to mount his horse immediately, received the second when he was got half way to Paris, and listening to nothing but the excess of his passion, was resolved, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, to give himself the consolation of seeing his mistress * once more, dead as

† Saturday morning, the convulsions had writhed her mouth to the back of her neck. Her body was opened, in which a dead child was found, See concerning this death, M. de Thou, l. 122. Matthieu, ibid. Le-Grain, l. 7. Le Septennaire, ann. 1599. Mem. de Bassompierre. De Thou, Matthieu, and Bassompierre, place her death a day sooner.

* According to Bassompierre, who speaks of it as being an eye-witness, Henry did not believe that his mistress was yet dead. He says that La-Varenne having come to acquaint the Marechal D'Ornano and him, who had accompanied the Duchess to Paris, that she was just dead, they both took horse in order to bring the melancoly news to the King, and keep him from coming to Paris. "We found," says he, "the King on the other side of La Saussaye, near Villejuif, "coming on post horses with all expedition. As soon as he saw the "Marechal, he suspected that he came to bring him the news, which "as soon as he heard, he made great lamentation for her. At "length they prevailed with him to go into the abbey La Saussaye, "where they laid him upon a bed: when at last a coach coming from "Paris, they put him into it, in order to return to Fontainebleau." Mem. de Bassompierre, tom. 1. p. 69, & seq. Le Grain adds, that he fainted away in his coach between the arms of the grand ecuyer or master of the horse.

Without attempting in any respect to justify the excessive fondness Henry IV. had for this woman, justice however obliges us to observe here, that this attachment was no less founded on the good qualities of her heart and mind than the beauty of her person, and that only the antipathy which is commonly borne towards such as are in the same condition, makes people say all the ill of her that we see related in these memoirs, and in the other historians. I will conclude this article with what D'Aubigne says, who is a writer that is naturally more inclined to blame than to commend. "It is a wonder," says he, "how this woman, whose great beauty had no thing of the loose turn "in it, could have lived rather like a queen than a mistress for so "many years, and that with so few enemies. The necessities of state "were the only enemies she had to encounter." He had said before that

as he believed her to be. The ſame perſons that had carried him back the firſt time to Fontainebleau, prevailed upon him by their arguments and intreaties to go back once more, and it was from this place that he diſpatched the courier to me.

I did not loſe a moment. I breakfaſted at Poiſſy, and dined at Paris. I made uſe of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow's coach to carry me as far as Eſſonne, from whence I took poſt, and at night got to Fontainebleau. I went immediately to the King, who was walking in a gallery ſunk in an exceſs of grief, that made all company inſupportable: he told me that, although he expected the ſight of me would at firſt increaſe his affliction, as in effect it did, yet he was ſenſible that in the condition to which the loſs he had ſuffered had reduced him, he had ſo much need of conſolation, that he did not heſitate a moment to ſend for me to receive the aſſiſtance I only could give him.

With a Prince equally ſenſible of what he owed to religious and political duties, I was not at a loſs for ſources from whence to derive arguments to calm his ſorrow. I recalled to his remembrance ſome of thoſe paſſages in the holy ſcriptures, wherein God, as a father and maſter, requires that confidence and perfect reſignation, the effect of which is, to inſpire a Chriſtian with a contempt for all ſub-

that ſhe uſed with great moderation her power over the King: and P. Matthieu adds, to the good qualities which he remarks in this lady, that of having often given very good council to Henry IV. ibid. "ſhe would not ſuffer any other perſon near her," ſays Le-Grain alſo, l. 8. "though the Sieur de Liancourt was a man of great merit and "of a very honourable family: inſomuch that this marriage was diſ-"ſolved before it was conſummated." Some accounts of that time ſpeak of Nicholas d'Amerval, Sieur de Liancourt, as a perſon of a truly diſtinguiſhed birth and of a very plentiful fortune; but whoſe mind, ſay they, was as badly formed as his body. Mademoiſelle, d'Eſtrées married him only to get rid of the tyrannical treatment ſhe received from her father, and becauſe the King promiſed her that he would hinder the conſummation of the marriage, and even diſſolve it: which he actually did.

lunary things; to which I added such as might incite to the acknowledgements and adoration of Divine Providence, as well in deep misfortunes as unexpected success. I made no scruple to represent to Henry, that the accident which now gave him all this affliction, was among the number of those which he would one day look upon as the most fortunate. I endeavoured to place him in imagination in that painful, and (if his mistress had lived) unavoidable situation, when on one side struggling with the force of a tender and violent passion, and on the other with the silent convictions of what honour and duty required of him, he would be under an absolute necessity of coming to some resolution, with regard to an engagement which he could not break without torture, or preserve without infamy. Heaven, I told him, came to his assistance, by a stroke painful indeed, but which could only open the way to a marriage, upon which depended the tranquillity of France, the happiness of his people, the fate of Europe, and his own good, to whom the blessing of a lawful union would always appear too dearly purchased, by the desertion of a woman, who, by a thousand good qualities, was worthy of his affection.

I easily perceived that this last argument, inforced in a manner advantageous to his mistress, made an impression upon Henry's heart, by the soothing pleasure it gave him to hear his choice had been approved of. He confessed to me, that it was some relief to him to find me placing his attachment for the Duchess of Beaufort among the number of those that are formed by a real sympathy of minds, and not on mere libertinism; and that he had been apprehensive I would have no otherwise endeavoured to comfort him, than by rendering him ashamed of his passion for her. This first conversation was very long. I do not remember every thing I said to the King. All I know is that, after

having first applied those gentle soothings that affliction demands, the continuance of which I opposed by arguments drawn from the necessity all princes and persons in any public character are under, of preserving, even in the most reasonable sorrows, that freedom of mind requisite for affairs of state; Henry had not the weakness * of resigning himself up to grief through obstinacy, or of seeking a cure in insensibility. He listened more to the dictates of his reason than his passion, and already appeared much less afflicted to those persons who entered his chamber. At length every one being careful not to renew his grief, which his daily employments gradually diminished, he found himself in that state in which all wise men ought to be who have had great subjects of affliction, that is, neither condemning nor flattering the cause, nor affecting either to recall or banish the remembrance of it.

Joyeuse likewise employed the public attention, having from a soldier and a courtier † become a capuchin, and afterwards from a capuchin become

* Henry IV. made all the court go into mourning for the death of the Duchess of Beaufort. He himself was dressed in black for the first eight days, and afterwards in violet. Mem. de Chiverny.

† Henry de Joyeuse, Count de Bouchage, and youngest brother to the Duke de Joyeuse, was slain at Coutras. "One day at four in the "morning, as he was passing through the streets of Paris near the "convent of the capuchins, after he had spent the night in a debauch, "he imagined that he heard angels singing the matins in the convent: "at which he being much affected, he immediately turned capu"chin, under the name of Frere-Ange. Afterwards he quitted the "frock and and carryed arms against Henry IV. at which time the "Duke de Mercenne made him governor of Languedock, a duke, peer, "and marechal of France. At last he made his peace with the King: "but one day this prince being with him on a balcony, under which "was a great number of people assembled together, Cousin, says "Henry IV. to him, this multitude seem to me to be very content"ed and easy at seeing together an apostate and a renegado. This say"ing of the King's made such an impression on Joyeuse that he en"tered again into his convent, where he died." The anecdote is taken from the notes on the Henriade.

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again a soldier and a courtier, he resumed his inclination for the frock, which it was pretended the Pope had only during the war granted him a dispensation for quitting; and this time he wore it till his death. The marriage of his daughter, the sole heiress of the family of Joyeuse, with the Duke of Montpensier, was the last action of his public life. The Marchioness de Belliſle †, after his example, took the habit of a nun of the order of St. Barnard, commonly called Feuillantines.

BOOK XI.

THE time settled by the reference made to the Pope concerning the marquisate of Saluces had elapsed without any decision by his Holiness, because the Duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other person that it could not be favourable for him, had, to * elude the sentence, made use of all those arts that were generally practised in this little court, whose policy it was, when its safety or advantage was in question, to employ cunning, treachery, submission, and the appearance of the strong-

† Antonietta d'Orleans de Longueville was the widow of Charles de Gondy Marquis of Belliſle, and eldest son of the Marechal de Retz. Mezeray informs us, that the reason of her retiring, was the mortification she had received by not being able to revenge the death of her husband; a soldier whom she had employed for this purpose having been taken and hanged: for she could not obtain his pardon of the King. The Marquis de Belliſle had been killed in 1596 at Mount Saint Michael, by a gentleman of Bretagne called Keimartin. L'Etoile speaks of her as a woman who was much admired by all the court on account of her beauty and understanding, and as an eminent example of devotion and penitence in her convent.

* This marquisate was a transferrable fief of Dauphiné, to which the house of Savoy had no right.

eſt attachments. The firſt thought that preſented itſelf to the Duke of Savoy's mind was to revoke a reference which had only been made to gain time, or with a hope that France would embroil itſelf with the holy ſee. But as this proceeding ſeemed too diſingenuous, he had recourſe to another artifice to make the Pope voluntarily reſign the arbitration. He appriſed his ambaſſador at Rome, that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy that Clement VIII. had ſuffered himſelf to be gained by the King, on a private condition, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould engage to yield afterwards to the Pope himſelf all his claims upon the marquiſate of Saluces. The ambaſſador, who was firſt impoſed upon by his maſter, explained himſelf in ſuch a manner upon this colluſion, that his Holineſs, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, reſigned it with indignation.

The Duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the Pope would act in this manner, gave the King, however to underſtand, that he would rely entirely upon him, without having recourſe to any foreign arbitration upon the diſpute. He thought, by piquing this prince upon his honour, to obtain that which was the ſubject of their conteſt, which he took care to have repreſented to him, as a thing of ſuch ſmall value, that it could not merit the attention of ſo great a King. And it was with theſe inſtructions that the Sieurs de Jacob, de la Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and de Roncas, the Duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

With views of this nature the miniſter and the confident of the prince is commonly the perſon whom they begin to engage in their intereſt, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he ſhould not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the deſign with which they come, and in their diſcourſe make no longer any uſe of that

that caution which is obſerved in a congreſs. Theſe gentlemen therefore told me, that their maſter did not pretend to hold the marquiſate of Saluces of his Majeſty any otherwiſe than as a mere gift of his munificence; and at the ſame time inſinuated to me plainly enough, that this preſent would produce from the Duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the requeſt, and my ſolicitude to ſecure its ſucceſs. I would not ſeem to underſtand theſe laſt words; and with regard to the firſt, I told the agents dryly, that ſince, as they well knew, no one could beſtow upon another what was not immediately in his own poſſeſſion, it was neceſſary the Duke of Savoy ſhould firſt begin by reſigning all claim to the marquiſate of Saluces; and that then his Majeſty, who I aſſured them had no leſs greatneſs of mind than his Highneſs, would uſe his power royally. And I very earneſtly intreated them to addreſs themſelves directly to the King: which they did, diſcouraged with the manner I ſpoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared ſo reſolute upon every thing that regarded that ſtate, that after ſeveral uſeleſs attempts, they laid aſide all thoughts of ſucceeding this way.

Finding all France, and the court itſelf, filled with malecontents and mutinous perſons, they imagined that by puſhing them on to ſome violent reſolution, they might give Henry ſufficient employment within his kingdom, to make him loſe ſight of all that paſſed without. The Duke of Savoy's preſence appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to engage more cloſely thoſe lords who liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, and they wrote to him, that his intereſt required that he ſhould take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly ſuited to the Duke's character *: he conſented to it, and order-

* It is ſaid, that this prince, during his reſidence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not come into "this kingdom to reap, but to ſow."

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ed them to demand his Majesty's leave for that purpose; which the King would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reason. But the Duke of Savoy had deprived him of the least pretence, by protesting, that he undertook this journey, in order that he might himself treat with his Majesty; or rather, that he came to submit entirely to the King's will. This declaration he accompanied with so many complaints against Spain, that he seemed to be upon the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown; and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of security on an union with France. He had a short time before refused an advantageous proposal made him by the King of Spain, to send his son and his eldest daughter to the court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this step of the Duke of Savoy, the Pope was fully determined to concern himself no further with the affair of Saluces: but nothing could make the King neglect two things, which from the very first appeared to him absolutely necessary; namely, to give up no part of that satisfaction which was due to him by the Duke, and to discover all his transactions with the malecontents of his court.

Among these the King always gave Marechal Biron the first rank. His Majesty knew, that during the stay this Marechal made in Guienne, he had solicited the nobility of that province to engage in his interests; and that at his own table he had had such conversation with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and insolence of his disposition; but what gave most weight to this behaviour was, that his intrigues at the court of Savoy, although carried on with all possible caution, came at the same time to his Majesty's knowledge. And the journey the King took this year

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to Blois, had in reality no other motive than to diſconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the King talked of it as a party of pleaſure, to paſs the ſummer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he ſaid, ſome of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris likewiſe, in the ſtate things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I attended his Majeſty, whoſe ſtay at Blois produced nothing of conſequence enough to be mentioned; he paſſed his time there in the employment I have already mentioned, and in endeavouring to procure the ſo earneſtly deſired diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the Ducheſs of Beaufort lived, no one was ſolicitous to preſs Henry to a divorce, either becauſe they apprehended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his miſtreſs, who was univerſally hated, or that they did not care to expoſe themſelves to the rage of this woman; who was always to be feared, even though her deſigns ſhould not ſucceed; but as ſoon as ſhe was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, all the other bodies, and the people, to ſolicit him on this ſubject. The procurer-general came to his Majeſty, and intreated him to give his ſubjects this ſatisfaction. The King, though he was not determined upon his choice, promiſed, however, to yield to the deſires of his people.

I now reſumed my correſpondence with Queen Margaret with more ardour than before: I had taken no pains to remove the obſtacle which this Princeſs made, on Madam de Beaufort's account, to the conſent that was required of her; for I looked upon it as a reſource to which, probably, every one muſt have applied; and it was this only that could have reſtrained the court of Rome, if the King had ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be gained by his miſtreſs: beſides, the compliance I obſerved

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in Margaret assured me that she did not make it a pretence for an absolute refusal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the answer she wrote me from Usson, to a letter I had just sent her, in which I mentioned the sacrifice that was expected from her, in very respectful but in very clear terms, as such negotiations require. Margaret, on her side, to shew that she perfectly understood what was to be done, explained herself absolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it such reasonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future; she only desired a decent pension might be assigned her, and that her debts might be paid; appointing a man to conclude this affair, either with the King, or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be suspected: this was Langlois, who had served his Majesty so faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for it with the post of master of the requests. It was not easy to find a man who was more capable of business: he brought his Majesty an answer from Margaret *; for the King thought he likewise was under a necessity of writing to her, which he did with equal goodness and complaisance, but in terms far less explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a state of this Princess's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the thing more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the Pope in terms that gave his Holiness to understand, that she was far from being constrained to this act; that she had the same solicitude for the conclusion of this affair as all France had. D'Ossat, provided with a writing of the same kind, found no more obstacles: he was seconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the scandal

* See these two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the new collection des lettres du Henry le Grand.

of his firſt commiſſion. The holy father uſed no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him, than what decency and ceremony required; and did not ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by ſuggeſtions of envious perſons, a deteſtable ſort of men who are to be found in every place. He appointed the Biſhop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finiſhing hand to this affair, which could only be done in France; aſſociating with him two commiſſioners of that nation, the Archbiſhop of * Arles, and the Cardinal de Joyeuſe: the courſe they were to take was, to declare the parties free from all engagements, by the nullity of their marriage.

While theſe affairs was haſtening towards a concluſion, Henry returned to Fountainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diverſions, and the pleaſures of the table, heard Mademoiſelle D'Entragues † often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, ſpoke ſo advantageouſly of the beauty, wit, and ſprightlineſs of this young lady, that the King had a deſire to ſee her, and became immediately paſſionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreſeen the uneaſineſs this new paſſion was to give him! but it

* Theſe three commiſſaries having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, Biſhop of Paris, after maturely examining the reaſons alledged on both ſides, declared the marriage void, by reaſon of conſanguinity, different religion, ſpiritual affinity, compulſion, and for want of the conſent of one of the parties: for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree; the mother of Jane d'Albert, who alſo was called Margaret, being the ſiſter of Francis I. See the hiſtory and pieces concerning this divorce in Matthieu, tom. 2. b. 2. De Thou, liv. 133. La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.

† Catharine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, Lord of Entragues, Marcouſſy, and de Maleſherbes, by Mary Touchet, miſtreſs to Charles IX. whom he married for his ſecond wife. The writings of thoſe times repreſent her as not ſo beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and ſtill more gay, ambitious, and enterpriſing. This ſketch, which correſponds with what the Duke de Sully ſays here, will be very much confirmed in the ſequel of theſe memoirs.

was Henry's fate, that the ſame weakneſs which obſcured his glory, ſhould likewiſe deſtroy the tranquillity of his life.

The lady was no novice: although ſenſible of the pleaſure of being beloved by a great King, yet ambition was her predominant paſſion; and ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe might make ſo good uſe of her charms, as to oblige her lover to become her huſband. She did not therefore ſeem in haſte to yield to his deſires: pride, chaſtity, and intereſt, were employed in their turns; ſhe demanded no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns for the price of her favours. And perceiving that ſhe had only increaſed Henry's paſſion, by an obſtacle, in my opinion, much more likely to cool it, ſince his Majeſty was obliged to tear this ſum from me by violence, ſhe no longer deſpaired of any thing, and had recourſe to other artifices; ſhe alledged the reſtraint her relations * kept her in, and the fear of their reſentment. The prince endeavoured to remove all theſe ſcruples; but could not ſatisfy the lady, who taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared, that ſhe would never grant him a thing, unleſs he would give her a promiſe, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, ſhe ſaid (accompanying this ſtrange requeſt with an air of modeſty, with which ſhe well knew how to inflame the King) that ſhe aſked for this promiſe, to her a verbal one had been ſufficient, or indeed, ſhe would have required none of any kind, being ſenſible that her birth

* This fear was not entirely without foundation. If we may believe the Marechal de Baſſompierre, in his memoirs, her mother was indeed very condeſcending in this affair; and it was even ſhe that drew the King to Maleſherbes, a houſe where ſhe lived; but her father was not ſo complying, any more than the Count d'Auvergne, half brother, by the mother, to the lady. They wanted to pick a quarrel with the Count de Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occaſion; and they carried the lady to Marcouſſis, where the King nevertheleſs went to ſee her. Tom. I.

did

did not allow her to pretend to that honour, but that she would have occasion for such a writing, to serve as an excuse for her fault to her relations; and observing that the King still hesitated, she had the address to hint, that in reality she should look upon this promise as of very little consequence, knowing well the King was not to be summoned to a court of justice like one of his common subjects.

What a striking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not so dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewise those reasons he had to believe her far from being a vestal, or those intrigues against the state of which her father, mother, her brother, and even herself, had been convicted, and had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had so lately signified to them from his Majesty: notwithstanding all this, the King was weak enough to comply with his mistress's desires, and promised to grant her request.

One morning, when he was preparing to go to the chace, he called me into the gallery at Fontainebleau, and put this shameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of justice, which I am so much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader must perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that in the greatest excesses to which he was hurried by his passions, he always submitted to a candid confession of them, and to consult with those persons whom he knew were most likely to oppose his designs. This is an instance of rectitude and greatness of soul, rarely to be found amongst princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the stab of a poignard, Henry sometimes turned aside to conceal his confusion, and sometimes endeavoured to gain over his confident by condemning and excusing himself by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clause of

marrying a miſtreſs, provided ſhe bore him a ſon in the ſpace of a year (for it was conceived in theſe terms) appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the ſhame and contempt the King muſt neceſſarily incur, by a promiſe which, ſooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confuſion. I was alſo afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep in the preſent conjuncture whilſt the divorce was depending; and this thought rendered me ſilent and motionleſs.

Henry, ſeeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a viſible agitation of mind, ſaid to me, "Come, come, ſpeak freely, and do not aſ-"ſume all this reſerve." I could not immediately find words to expreſs my thoughts, nor need I here aſſign reaſons for my perplexity, which may be eaſily imagined by thoſe who know what it is to be the confident of a King, on occaſions when there is a neceſſity of combating his reſolution, which is always abſolute and unalterable. The King again aſſured me, that I might ſay and do what I pleaſed without offending him; which was but a juſt amends, he ſaid, for having forced from me three hundred thouſand livres. I obliged him to repeat this aſſurance ſeveral times, and even to ſeal it with a kind of oath; and then no longer heſitating to diſcover my opinion, I took the paper out of the King's hands, and tore it to pieces without ſaying a word. "How!" ſaid Henry, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of this action, "Morblieu! what do you "mean to do: I think you are mad." I am mad, I acknowledge, Sire, replied I, and would to God I was the only madman in France. My reſolution was taken, and I was prepared to ſuffer every thing rather than, by a pernicious deference and reſpect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithſtanding the rage I ſaw that inſtant impreſſed on the King's countenance, while he collected together

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out of my hands the torn pieces of the writing, to ſerve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to repreſent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the ſubject may be imagined to ſuggeſt to me. The King, angry as he was, liſtened till I had done ſpeaking, but, overcome by his paſſion, nothing was capable of altering his reſolution; the only effort he made was, not to baniſh from his preſence a confident too ſincere. He went out of the gallery without ſaying a ſingle word to me, and returned to his cloſet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him a ſtandiſh and paper; he came out again in half a quarter of an hour, which he had employed in writing a new promiſe. I was at the foot of the ſtaircaſe when he deſcended; he paſſed by without ſeeming to ſee me, and went to Maleſherbes to hunt, where he ſtaid two days.

I was of opinion that this incident ought to put no ſtop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being ſought for for the King, but rather that it ſhould haſten both: his Majeſty's agents at Rome made therefore the firſt overture of a marriage between Henry and the Princeſs Mary of Medicis *, daughter of the Grand Duke of Florence. The King ſuffered us to proceed in this buſineſs, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even appointed the Conſtable, the Chancellor, Villeroi, and me, to treat with the perſon whom the Grand Duke ſhould ſend to Paris. We were reſolved not to let the affair ſleep. Joanini, the perſon deputed by the Grand Duke,

* Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis Grand Duke of Tuſcany, by the Archduchess Jane of Auſtria, daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand. She had for her portion ſix hundred thouſand crowns, beſides rings and jewels. La Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600, p. 121. and Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. 2. p. 336. give an account of the negotiations of D'Oſſat and De Sillery, relating to this marriage.

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was no sooner arrived, than the articles were instantly drawn and signed by all.

I was pitched upon to communicate this news to the King, who did not expect the business would have been concluded so suddenly. As soon as I replied to his question, from whence I came, "We "come, Sire, from marrying you," this Prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been struck with a thunder-bolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber hastily, delivering himself up to reflections, with which his mind was violently agitated, that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had represented to him had now a proper effect: At length recovering himself like a man who had taken his resolution, "Well!" said he, rubbing his hands together, "well, de-pardieu! be it so, there "is no remedy: if for the good of my kingdom "I must marry, I must." He acknowledged to me, that the fear of succeeding no better in his second than his first marriage was the cause of his irresolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himself with glory and success from a thousand cruel dissentions, which war and policy had occasioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domestic quarrels, and seemed more troubled than when, that very year, upon notice sent from a capuchin of Milan *, an Italian, who had come to Paris with an intention to poignard him, was seized in the midst of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not solemnized till the following year.

Other foreign affairs in this, which remain to be mentioned, are these; the war in the Low Countries, which was vigorously begun when the Arch-

* Henry IV. thanked him himself for it, and caused several advantageous offers to be made him by his ambassador at Rome. Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. 2. p. 302.

duke

duke went in thoſe provinces; the King, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbad his ſubjects to bear arms in the ſervice of the States, but this was merely for form's ſake, policy not permitting him to ſuffer the Flemiſh to be oppreſſed. His Majeſty not only forbore to puniſh thoſe who diſobeyed theſe orders, but likewiſe aſſiſted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I ſhall ſay nothing of, except that the Duke of Mercœur aſked and obtained leave to ſerve in the troops of the Emperor Rodolph; the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning King and elected one of Poland * was dethroned by his ſubjects, who put his uncle Charles Duke of Sudermania in his place; and loſt all hope of ever being reſtored by the defeat he received from his rival.

With reſpect to my own perſonal affairs, this was the moſt conſiderable. This year the Princeſs d'Epinoi came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my intereſt with the King againſt the princes of Ligne, who had attempted to uſurp her eſtate, and that of her children. Theſe children were five in number, four of whom, three ſons and her eldeſt daughter, ſhe had brought with her; the youngeſt was educated under the care of the Madam de Roubais, widow of the Viſcount de Gand her uncle and mine. The Princeſs told me, that the neareſt relation by the father's ſide which her children had in France being myſelf, it was fit I ſhould be their guardian. I accepted willingly of this truſt, to procure them juſtice; and had the ſatisfaction, at the end of ſeven years, during which time I took the ſame care of theſe children as my own, to reſtore to them the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty

* Sigiſmond. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-eſtabliſh the Catholic religion in Sweden. See with regard to all theſe foreign affairs, De Thou, le Septennaire, and other hiſtorians, ann. 1599.

thouſand

thouſand livres a year. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his Majeſty.

About the ſame time the merchants of Tours came to intreat my aſſiſtance in procuring leave for them to eſtabliſh manufactures of ſilks, and of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition for importing any from foreign countries for the future, aſſuring me that they had ſufficient to ſupply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their anſwer, I required time to examine if their report was true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from an enterpriſe which could not miſcarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refuſal they addreſſed themſelves directly to his Majeſty. I thought it neceſſary not to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment, which, if well conducted, might be of great uſe. The King, overcome by their importunity, granted all they aſked; but ſix months were ſcarce paſſed, when, for want of having taken proper meaſures, they came to get their commiſſions revoked *, which had given general diſcontent, on account of the inconveniency and increaſe of expence to the purchaſers which had been produced by this new regulation.

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whoſe profits the new prohibition had conſiderably diminiſhed, likewiſe contributed not a little to its revocation. Chronologie Septennaire, p. 95. ann. 1599. The caſe is the ſame with regard to theſe ſtuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which ſhould ſubſiſt between all the nations of the world, will not give us, in this reſpect, any advantage over our neighbours, farther than we can find out the methods of manufacturing theſe ſtuffs ourſelves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. At this very day, a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian ſtuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wiſhed, that we would be more careful to forbear the uſe of the latter, or rather make in France ſuch ſtuffs as would ſerve inſtead of theſe which are ſo commodious and ſerviceable.

The King believing the affair of the marquiſate of Saluces would not be finiſhed without ſtriking a blow for it, had, for ſome time, thought of getting a man to perform the duties of grand maſter of the ordnance, who was capable of acquitting himſelf well of them, and above all of acting by himſelf; this good old d'Eſtrées was not able to do; however, his Majeſty would not take away the poſt from him for his children's ſake, of whom Monſieur d'Eſtrées was the grandfather; but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder De Born being deſirous of reſigning the poſt of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to thoſe of the grand maſter of the ordnance, although I was not inveſted with this laſt. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the firſt, already very conſiderable, by raiſing it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant generals in the provinces, augmenting the ſalary, and laſtly by granting the patents *gratis*. However, I muſt acknowledge, that I was not to be won by theſe offers, and could not reſolve to ſerve under another, after having been diſappointed of the firſt place; I therefore excuſed myſelf, upon the buſineſs I was already charged with, from not complying with the King's intentions. The King was not to be impoſed upon by this anſwer, and after many ſolicitations which I knew how to defend myſelf againſt, he left me in anger, telling me, that he would mention it to me no more, but that, ſince I would liſten to nothing but my own caprice, he would take his own way.

His kindneſs for me made him that moment forget his threat. He cauſed a propoſal to be made to Monſieur d'Eſtrées to reſign his employment, which, as ſoon as I was informed of, I offered, by Monſieur and Madam du Peche, three thouſand crowns to Madam de Nery, who governed the old

man entirely, to procure his consent; the master of the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the King that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for this post. The King immediately acquainted me with his resolution, adding, that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquisate of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to say, without a great number of very difficult sieges; for that is the usual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his Majesty, and agreed with d'Estrees for eighty thousand crowns; all these petty claims arising to a considerable sum more, I was, on this occasion, obliged to take up rents to the value of a hundred thousand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was solemnly invested with the dignity * of grand master of the ordnance, and took the usual oath for it. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty-four thousand livres. I thought myself obliged, in gratitude to his Majesty for this last instance of his bounty, to give all my cares to the artillery. I visited the arsenal, where every thing seemed to me in such a miserable condition, that I resolved to take up my residence there, that I might apply myself wholly towards its re-establishment, although

* The King declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantome, in the place where he gives us the list of the grand masters of the ordnance, speaks thus, "Since M. de Rosny has had this charge of grand master, who undoubtedly does the "place so much honour, the arsenal is in very good order, owing to "his great capacity and application, especially as the importance of "the thing itself and his own good sense would have it so. Witness "what he performed in the last war with Savoy, where, in a short "time, he gave proof of very quick dispatch and diligence, by being "sooner in the field than he was expected." Vies des hommes illustres, art. M. Rosny, tom. 1. p. 227. 228.

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this caſtle was then very ill built, and deſtitute of every conveniency.

The affairs of the artillery were ſtill worſe. I began by reforming the officers of this body, who, not having the ſlighteſt notion of their trade, were in fact only the ſervants of the officers of the court of juſtice. I caſhiered about five hundred of them at one ſtroke. I conferred next with the commiſſaries for ſaltpetre, and agreed with them for a conſiderable proviſion of powder, which I ſhewed to the King. I treated likewiſe with the maſters of great iron works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cart-wrights and carpenters, for the wood-work neceſſary for the deſigns I had formed. His Majeſty came to viſit his arſenal himſelf, fifteen days after I was ſettled there; and theſe viſits became afterwards one of his chief amuſements: he took pleaſure in ſeeing all the preparations that were making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myſelf to them.

That diligence indeed was no more than neceſſary in the preſent poſture of affairs in Savoy, the detail of which, and that of the war they produced, will make up the ſubject of theſe memoirs for all the following year. It was at the end of this that the Duke of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France, with thoſe intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce the effects he had promiſed himſelf from his artifices. The reflections which the paſt conduct of this prince, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character, gave riſe to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewiſe ſomething ſtill more poſitive againſt him: Leſdiguieres had ſent advice to his Majeſty, that the Duke was fortifying his caſtles and towns with great care, eſpecially thoſe of Breſſe, and furniſhing them with amunition and proviſions. It was

known, by means of the Count de Carces, and the Sieur du Paſſage, that he had ſtrongly ſolicited the court of Madrid, and preſſed the Pope, to procure a ſecond reference of the affair; repreſenting to him, that it was the intereſt of all Italy not to ſuffer that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould poſſeſs any thing beyond the Alps. The French reſidents at Florence ſent advice, that the Duke's purpoſe, by coming into France, was to circumvent the King; who, on his ſide, was perſuaded, that it was M. de Savoy himſelf who would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the King of Spain, and other princes of Italy; for theſe laſt were at no pains to conceal their diſlike of the Duke of Savoy's ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit: and the King of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche Compté, of more value than the two caſtles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix, and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent ſallies of the like nature followed by reciprocal complaints, had abſolutely ruined their former good correſpondence.

The event proved the juſtneſs of thoſe obſervations which the letter the King ſhewed me from Leſdiguiers occaſioned; but in public he ſhewed no reſentment at what he had learned of the Duke's proceedings; he even ordered me to ſpare no expence to give him, at Lyons, ſuch a reception as is due to foreign ſovereigns. This prince, I believe, had no cauſe to complain of me upon this account; but Meſſieurs the Counts of St John * did not act in the ſame manner; they denied him certain honours which the

* It was by order of the King, according to F. Matthieu, vol. II. b. ii. p. 323. that the canons of Lyons refuſed the Duke of Savoy the place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former Duke his father, and that for a very obvious reaſon, the houſe of Savoy having ſince that time loſt poſſeſſion of the earldom of Villars.

the Dukes of Savoy claimed in the assembly of canons as Counts of Villars. It was at Fontainebleau, and at Paris, where the shew was most magnificent. The † Duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with splendor suitable to his rank.

Three days after his arrival at Paris, the King, who was desirous of shewing him the new regulations in the arsenal, sent me notice that he would come and sup there, with the Duke and chief lords and ladies of his court. The Duke of Savoy came so long before, that I could not impute such extraordinary haste to mere accident. He desired to see the magazines, which was not what I wanted; I was ashamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new work-houses. Twenty cannons lately cast, and as many more in readiness for it, forty compleatly mounted, and several other works which he saw carrying on with great dilligence, surprised him so much, that he could not help asking me, what I meant by all these preparations? Sir, replied I, smiling to take Montmelian. The Duke, without giving any indications that this reply had a little disconcerted him, asked, with an air of gaiety and freedom, if I had ever been there? and upon my answering him in the negative, "Truly, I thought so, said he, "or you would not have talked of taking it; Mont-"melian is impregnable." I answered him in the same tone, that I would not advise him to oblige the King to make the attempt, because I was very certain Montmelian would, in that case, lose the title of impregnable.

Villars. This ceremony consisted in presenting some sacred vestments to the Duke at the entrance of the cloyster, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

† Notwithstanding this magnificent reception, the Duke of Savoy, after the first conference he had wit Henry IV. became sensible that he was not likely to obtain his demand. "I have delivered my mes-"sage, says he, and may now go whenever I will." Matthieu sur le voyage de ce Prince en France, tom. II. liv. ii.

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These words gave our conversation immediately a very serious turn. The Duke of Savoy taking occasion to mention the affairs which brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me sensible, that he knew I was not in his interest, when we were interrupted by the arrival of his Majesty: and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleasure. However, the same night commissioners were named for examining the occasion of the contest: the Constable, the Chancellor, Marechal Biron, Meisse, Villeroi, and myself, were appointed for the King; and for the Duke of Savoy, Belly his Chancellor, the Marquis de Lullin, the Sieurs de Jacob, the Count de Morette, the Chevalier de Brétons, and des Allymes.

The Duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commissioners to his interests: he gained them completely at last, by the liberal gifts which he bestowed both on them and the whole court * at the new year. But I was the person that gave him most trouble; for every time when the question was debated amongst the commissioners, I constantly held firm to this determination, either that a restitution should be made to his Majesty of the marquisate of Saluces, or that Bresse, and all the border of the Rhône from Geneva to Lyons, should be given him in exchange.

* The Duke sent the King two large basons and two crystal vases, as a new year's gift. "In return of which, the King gave the Duke "a crotchet of diamonds, where, among others, was one with his "Majesty's picture: it was a very fine piece, and the Duke had a "great value for it: he made presents to all who came to compliment "him." Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600. It was said that he had gained over the Duchess of Beaufort to his interest. So that if this lady had not died, it is probable the restitution of Saluces might have been dispensed with. The Duke of Savoy playing at primero with Henry, on a bett of 4000 pistols, the King neglected his play supposing that he had already won the game: but the Duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himself with shewing the cards to the Dukes of Guise and D'Aubigné, who were present, and then shuffled them together. It is D'Aubigne that relates this circumstance of the Duke's generosity or policy.

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But for the apparent incivility of such a proceeding, they would have solicited my exclusion from their meetings: therefore they had again recourse to an attempt to gain me, which they resolved to do at any price whatsoever.

On the 5th of January, Des Allymes came to make me the usual compliments in the name of his Highness: he intreated me, with great politeness, to attend to his master's reasons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the same time that he made me this request, he presented me with his Highness's picture in a box, enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thousand crowns value. To assist me in making a composition with my conscience, he told me, that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me busy in admiring the brilliants, added, that it was given me by a prince whose attachment to the King was equal to his friendship for me. I still kept the picture in my hand, and asked Des Allymes what were the propositals he had to make me? He, who thought the decisive moment was now come, immediately displayed his whole stock of eloquence; and for want of good reasons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his master with Spain, who offered to assist the King in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itself. All this cost him nothing; and, to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to dispose absolutely of these dominions; for which he added, that he did not doubt but the King would yield willingly to the Duke a paltry marquisate.

I could keep silence no longer. I told Des Allymes, that if the King demanded the marquisate of Saluces to be restored to him, it was not on account of its value, since that was very inconsiderable; but that he could not in honour suffer the crown to be dismembered of one of its ancient domains,

mains, and which had been usurped at a time when the Duke of Savoy, having received the highest obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abstained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expressions in my favour; and to pay his compliments with others, assured him, that when the Duke of Savoy had made an absolute restitution of Saluces, I would not forget to use my interest with his Majesty, to engage him to procure those opulent kingdoms for the Duke which he had offered to the King, and which would be much more convenient for him than his Majesty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praising the workmanship and materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the present was the only reason which hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to return the box and the diamonds, I would keep the picture with great pleasure, in remembrance of a prince so obliging. Accordingly, I separated the box and diamonds from the picture; when Des Allymes telling me, that it did not belong to him to make any alterations in his master's presents, I intreated him to take back all together, and he left me in despair of ever being able to engage me in his master's interest, and appeared but little satisfied with my behaviour.

All that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his Majesty's refusing to gratify them in this request, the Duke of Savoy took it in his head to desire, that the Patriarch of Constantinople might assist at these meetings in the name of the Pope; which the King agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this proposition. The next day, the King having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the assembly to be kept at the Constable's house, because he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had seen the confe-

rence begun: but before he left us, he exhorted all the commiſſioners to have a ſtrict regard to juſtice; and whiſpering me in particular, "Take care of "every thing," ſaid he, "and do not ſuffer them "to impoſe upon you."

Upon the King's departure I found, that inſtead of taking their ſeats, they divided into parties, two and three together, and the nuncio ſometimes conferring with one ſet, ſometimes with another, not ſuffering the buſineſs to be entered upon regularly; and, above all, carefully avoiding to ſay any thing to me. At length Bellievre told me, that the good Patriarch could not ſubdue his ſcruples about converſing with an Huguenot; and intreated me, in the name of the aſſembly, to abſent myſelf, ſince nothing could be done while I was preſent. I inſtantly comprehended the cauſe of this behaviour; and bowing profoundly low, withdrew; intending to go and give the King an account of what had paſſed. I met him in the gallery, where he had ſtopped to ſpeak to Bellengreville: he aſked me, with ſome ſurpriſe, if all was over already? and upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commiſſioners and tell them, that if there was any perſon amongſt them to whom my preſence was diſpleaſing, it was his buſineſs to withdraw, not mine. I diſturbed a little the joy of the aſſembly, by repeating this new order of the King's. The meaſures they took were, to waſte the hours in ſeeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached; and then they deferred entering upon the queſtion till the afternoon. But notwithſtanding all their endeavours with his Majeſty, I continued ſtill in the number of the commiſſioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquiſh his reluctance.

Bretons and Roncas turned themſelves on every ſide, to avoid yielding to a reſtitution of the marquiſate; they offered to do homage for it to his

Majesty, and, if that was not sufficient, to hold Bresse upon the same conditions. I easily rendered all these proposals ineffectual, and got it unanimously declared, to give the Duke of Savoy this alternative, either to resign Saluces to the King, or, in its place, the county of Bresse as far as the river of Dain, the vicarship of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouse, and Pignerol; in which case, all the towns and fortresses taken on both sides were to be restored *.

The Duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commissioners; but the truth is, they durst not openly oppose a determination which they knew to be the King's: all the resource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in supporting the interests of the Duke of Savoy; and were continually representing to the King, that he ought not to act too rigorously with a prince, whose alliance he might purchase at a very inconsiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a fief of no value, and which would be very difficult to preserve. The alternative they offered the Duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him six months to come to a resolution: he desired eighteen; and I maintained, there was no necessity for any delay. I went to his Majesty to acquaint him with this resolution, which was taken in spite of me, and represented to him the great inconveniency of giving the Duke of Savoy so long a time to renew his correspondences, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudised by the discourse of the courtiers on the necessity of granting

* A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commissaries, which it was much suspected the Duke of Savoy would not observe, because of the delays he desired: whereupon as Le-Grain relates it, a certain person proposed to Henry, that the Duke of Savoy should be seized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles. But this proposal was rejected by the King. See the particulars of the negotiation, and of the Duke's residence at Paris in M. de Thou, and Le Septainnaire, ann. 1599, 1600.

a delay to the Duke of Savoy, asked me how it was possible to do otherwise? "By granting the Duke of "Savoy," said I, "an honourable escort of fifteen "thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty "cannon, to conduct him to Montmelian, or what "other place he shall chuse to go to, and there ob-"lige him to explain himself upon the alternative "that has been proposed to him." The King did not approve of my advice; his word was given to the contrary: I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly persuaded, that, but for this compliance, his Majesty might have avoided a war, and have received complete satisfaction. All I could obtain was, that three months should be taken from the six that had been agreed upon.

The Duke of Savoy, finding that his Majesty, who was weary of the continual solicitations he had on this subject, would no longer answer otherwise than in these few words, *I am resolved to have my marquisate*, set out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time prescribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himself in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occasion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had succeeded. She had undertaken to poison the King *, and thought to have engaged the Count of Soissons, who, on all occasions, made known his discontent, in her design; but he conceived so great an horror

* By procuring her husband to be admitted into the number of the King's cooks, by the interest of the Count de Soissons, steward of the household. She was well known to all the Princes of the blood, and to Henry himself, at St. Denis, where she kept one of the principal inns during the war. The Count of Soissons, to whom she had hinted that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greatest princes in the world, suspecting that this woman had some bad design, caused Lomenie to conceal himself in a closet, which gave him an opportunity of discovering what means she intended to use. She was accused of practising sorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and somewhat disordered in her senses. Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600.

at it, that he discovered her immediately: she confessed her crime, and was burnt.

Nothing remarkable happened during these three months, except the dispute between Messieurs du Perron and du Plessis. Towards the latter end of the last year, appeared a book * of du Plessis upon the

* This book is intitled, *Instructions de la sainte eucharistie*, and attacks the mass by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As soon as it appeared in public, many catholic divines exclaimed against the falsehood of a great number of quotations it contained. This obliged Du-Plessis to offer a kind of challenge, which those doctors prevailed upon the Bishop of Evreux to accept. After several letters and steps taken on both sides to settle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du-Plessis repented more than once of having gone so far; the King determined that there should be a public dispute between the two antagonists, wherein fifty of these passages were to be made good every day till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. du Peron had excepted against. They met in the council chamber at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the King and commissaries appointed by him: those for the Catholics were the President de Thou, the Advocate Pithou, and the Sieur Martin, reader and Physician to his Majesty: for the Calvinists, Fresne-Canaye, and Casaubon. They met on Thursday the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the afternnon. Of fixty one passages which Du-Perron sent to his antagonist, the latter was only prepared on 19 of them, which he had selected from all the rest: as to these said he to the King, I will lose my reputation or life, if one of them be found false. However, he was convicted of an unfair representation in all those that were examined: and they could only go through nine of them: the Chancellor then declared the opinions of all present, upon these nine articles severally, that in the first, which was from Scotus, and the second from Durandus, Du-Plessis had taken the objection for the answer; in the third and fourth from St. Chrysostom, and the fifth from Jerom, that he had omitted some of the most material words; in the sixth, that it was no where to be found in St. Cyril: on the seventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falsified the text: as to the eight, which included two propositions from St. Bernard, that Du-Plessis ought to have separated them, or at least to have put an &c. between: with regard to the ninth Theodoret, that it was mutilated and that the word idols was taken for images. This was the only conference that was held. Du-Plessis Mornay, being seized with an indisposition next day, went to Saumur some days after, without taking leave of the King. Fresne Canaye, one of the commissioners, and Saint Marie Du Mont, another eminent Protestant, were soon after this dispute, in which Henry himself sometimes spoke, converted to the Catholic faith. Du-Plessis pretended to prove, by the authority of St.

the eucharist, which was looked upon by the Protestant party to be a master-piece, and which I sent immediately to the Bishop of Evreux, who was at his diocese: the difference of religion had never been able to destroy that friendship and gratitude which this prelate had always for me, nor that affection and reverence which I had ever preserved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of being my bishop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this strain. I was greatly surprised to read in that he wrote to me on account of the book I had sent him, that the errors and falsehoods it contained were so numerous, and followed one another so close, that the whole book was justly censurable. "Not that I would accuse "Monsieur du Plessis of insincerity," added the Bishop of Evreux, with equal moderation in his adversary's regard, as politeness in mine, "but I "am sorry for his misfortune, in having given "credit to the confused collections of compilers, "who have greatly deceived him." The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the post of grand master of

St. Cyril, that it was not a custom among the primitive Christians to adore the cross, and yet he alledged the reproach which the Emperor Julian throws on them upon this very account. "It is not very like-"ly," returned the King, "that Julian the Apostate would have re-"proached the Christians for adoring the cross, if they had not ac-"tually done so; otherwise he would have exposed himself to be "laughed at." It was the King likewise who said, that at least an &c. ought to have been put in the passage from St. Bernard.

A Catholic having observed to a Calvinist, that Du Perron had already gained several passages of Du-Plessis, No matter, answered the Protestant, provided that of Saumur be still left to him. Matthieu, *ib.* This fact, which is told in the same manner in several polemical treatises, is generally attested by all our good historians, and even those who treat the protestants most favourably. M. de Thou, liv. 123. p. 843. who was himself one of the commissaries. Matthieu ibid. Chron. Sept. p. 123. &c. Suppl. au Journal d'Henry, IV. tom. II. p. 51. &c. Vol. 2778. de la bibliot. du Roi, Le-Grain, and several others, who give us a relation of the whole dispute; so consequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in La Vie du Plessis, liv. 2. p. 269.

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the ordnance, and assurances of the pleasure it would give him "to see me," he said, "who commanded the cannons of France, obey the canons of the church."

I never had so good an opinion of du Plessis as the rest of the party had, who were all prejudised in his favour; and I would not have chosen to have been security for the exactness of those large volumes which he sent into the world in so quick a succession; for that on the eucharist had been preceded by a treatise upon the church. To write well, and upon these subjects especially, long reflection is necessary. This I told the Bishop of Evreux in my answer; but, at the same time, I observed to him, that I could not believe Du Plessis's book was, as he said, a series of errors. I told Du-Perron at the same time, that this would be the subject of a great dispute between them; for Du-Plessis would not suffer his accusations to pass unanswered: this was all the serious part of my letter, the rest of it was filled with compliment, praises, and an invitation to visit my new dwelling, which do not deserve to be repeated *.

What I had foreseen happened. However, I had expected only a private not a public dispute. I would have interposed the King's authority, to have hindered the two champions from proceeding so far, but Du-Plessis was the most difficult † to be persuaded, and persisted in his resolution to measure his weapons with those of the Bishop of Evreux. Every one knows how the dispute was terminated. Du-Plessis's defence was weak, and ended in his disgrace. The King, who would honour this challenge with his presence, gave a thousand praises to

* See these letters in the original, tom. II. p. 1. p. 52.

† Sir, said Du-Plessis, to M. de Rosny, my book is my own child which I will defend, and I intreat you would suffer me to do so: don't you meddle with it, for you have not reared it. Matthieu tom. II. liv. ii. p. 340.

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the wit and learning of Monſieur d'Evreux. "What "do you think of your Pope?" ſaid Henry to me, during the debate, (for Du-Pleſſis was with the Proteſtants what the Pope is amongſt the Catholics:) "I think, Sire," replied I, "that he is more a "Pope than your Majeſty imagines, for, at this "moment he gives the Cardinal's hat to Monſieur "d'Evreux. If our religion has not a better "foundation than his legs and arms croſſed, I "would quit it this inſtant."

It was upon this occaſion that his Majeſty, in a letter to the Duke of Epernon, told him, that the dioceſs of Evreux had vanquiſhed that of Saumur; that this was one of the greateſt advantages, which, for a long time, had been obtained for the church of God; and that ſuch a proceeding would draw more Proteſtants to the true church, than a courſe of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which was no leſs ſingular than the choice Henry made of the Duke of Epernon to addreſs it to, made as much noiſe as the diſpute itſelf, when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in ſuch hands. Some ſaid that the King wrote it to deſtroy the ſuſpicions of his not being a ſincere Catholic, which, notwithſtanding his converſion, prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jeſuits to mention him diſadvantageouſly in their letters to Rome: others imagined, that this letter had a meaning which was not at firſt perceived, and maintained, that the King had a view in it to perſuade either Spain or the Proteſtants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and ſanguinary methods with them would be uſeleſs.

The ſix months that had been given to the Duke of Savoy were now expired, yet he had taken no care to ſatisfy his engagement. His Majeſty began to think he ſhould obtain nothing but by force; but, beſides the perſuaſions of his courtiers, who

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all seemed to have sold their voices to the Duke of Savoy, this Prince was then retarded by an obstacle far more powerful, his fondness for his new mistress, to whom he had given the title of Marchioness of Verneuil. He was no longer able to think of a separation, and (it is with some confusion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the rout to Lyons, he deliberated whether he should not carry her with him, to which he was farther incited by the flatterers about him *. She was now with child; and, having the promise of marriage in her possession, the affair became of great consequence to Henry. Providence once more interposed in his favour. Madam de Verneuil was so frightened by the thunder during a storm, that she was delivered of a dead child. The King was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced, and from whence he sent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his mistress; but, restored to himself by his own reflections, he continued his rout to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him.

I intended to follow, as soon as I had settled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper measures to secure the necessary supplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that, according to the King's order, they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except those which were for the support of the frontier garrisons, and the payment of the troops; because all others would be immediately discharged at the treasury, to which I ordered all their money to be

* She came to meet him at St. André de la Coste. Bassompierre, who was with Henry, says, that the lovers quarrelled at their first meeting, but were soon reconciled: after which, this Prince carried his mistress to Grenoble, where he continued with her 7 or 8 days, and afterwards to Chambery, tom. 1. p. 86. &c.

carried directly. I likewiſe forbad thoſe that paid rents to diſcharge any bills without a new order, to keep them from paying, as they were accuſtomed, ſuch notes as had been revoked, or created without money. I raiſed ſome militia which I choſe rather to incorporate in the old corps, than to compoſe new regiments of. I applied myſelf more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I ſent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnois and Dauphiné, and to the commiſſioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their beſt pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon and balls in proportion, and ſend them all, with the powder and other ammunition, to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing, leſt my orders ſhould not be punctually executed, I went myſelf to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I gave the like orders in all the other provinces, and brought carriages to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry, in fifteen days, three millions three hundred thouſand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandiſe it was. They were greatly aſtoniſhed when they found their loading was twenty cannons, ſix thouſand balls, and other things belonging to the ordnance not very portable. They alledged, that ſuch heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage; but having threatened to ſeize their carts and horſes, and they not being willing to loſe the expences they had been already at, reſolved to do what was required of them: and I had the ſatisfaction to ſee all this luggage arrive ſafely in ſixteen days at Lyons; whereas, by the ordinary methods, it could not be done in leſs than two or three months, and at an infinite expence.

It was always doubted whether the king would ſeriouſly renew the war, till his Majeſty was ſeen

to take his route to the Alps. The Chancellor Bellièvre, who had perſiſted in his endeavours to diſſuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if poſſible, of the reaſons he had againſt it. I did not regard him as one of thoſe perſons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been uſeleſs. His ſincerity appeared in the manner in which he ſpoke to me, and the reflections with which his mind ſeemed to me to be agitated: the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal: the King's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work ſo ſolid as that of the peace of Vervins: the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he expoſed himſelf: the fear of bringing all the Duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppoſe whom he had an army ſufficiently provided with artillery indeed, but conſiſting only of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horſe, and (for ſo Bellièvre imagined) deſtitute of all neceſſary proviſions. This was the ſum of the Chancellor's objections.

I do not think that, in any paſſage of theſe memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, eſpecially ſince I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is any thing that can lay me under the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf with regard to too great a propenſity for war. Should it appear to any one that, on this occaſion, I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I anſwer, that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can ſuit all caſes; and ſuppoſing war to be (as I really believe it is) an evil at all times, it is alſo certain that it is often a neceſſary, and even an indiſpenſable evil, when by that only theſe claims can be ſupported, which it would be a baſeneſs to renounce; ſince it muſt be likewiſe confeſſed, that generoſity, and mildneſs, two qualities neceſſary in ſovereigns, yet when employed

ployed againſt the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakneſs, and are looked upon as inſtances of bad conduct.

To this general reply I added the particular reaſons for the preſent war. I ſhewed the Chancellor, that he ſuffered himſelf to be unſeaſonably alarmed: the King of Spain was the only formidable ally, whom it might be apprehended would join the Duke of Savoy; but it was to be conſidered, that the reigning King of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, ſufficiently employed in reducing his own ſubjects, and wholly guided by a miniſter as little inclined to war as himſelf, by the natural turn of his diſpoſition, and a deſire of keeping in his own hands the money which muſt be conſumed by war; and, laſtly, that he bore no goodwill to the Duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the King demanded only a reſtitution of what belonged to him: that this war would appear a mere difference between the King and the Duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occaſioned by an ill-grounded preſumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France; and this preſuppoſed, the ſucceſs of the war depended upon its being purſued with expedition. I maintained to the Chancellor, that, with four thouſand men this year, the King would gain greater advantages, than with thirty thouſand the next: but I did not neglect to prove to him, that his Majeſty was not ſo unprovided as he imagined, at leaſt, that he ſhould not want for two things, which, in the offices I held, it depended upon me to furniſh him with, that is, money and artillery. Belliévre was ſo far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will ſhew who had the beſt reaſons on his ſide.

The Duke of Savoy ſeeing that, contrary to his

expectation, a French * army was ready to fall upon him, had recourse to his usual artifices, to prevent, at least, any act of hostility before the winter was begun. He sent deputy after deputy to his Majesty at Lyons; sometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, sometimes he eluded them by specious reasons, and at other times, he proposed advantageous projects for his Majesty, and continued to impose upon this prince so completely, that Henry, believing he should be under no necessity to go farther than Lyons, staid there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with Henry in this city, I guarded him against the subtilties of the Duke of Savoy; but, as soon as I left him to return to Paris, to hasten, as I have said, the preparations for war, the King was so effectually deceived by the Duke's pretended sincerity, that he wrote to me to suspend my cares; for every thing was settled in an amicable manner.

In effect, the Duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him, but this was a mere verbal agreement, and proposed, that hostages should be given on each side; a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was necessarily taking up in naming those hostages, and sending them to each other. I wrote to the King very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not scruple to disobey his orders, by forwarding the ammunition †, and came in person to Montargis,

* He was encouraged, it is said, by certain idle predictions of astrologers, who gave out that, in the month of August, there would be no King in France: a thing that proved very true, says Perefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

† Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, bestows, in several places, high encomiums on the Duke of Sully, and in a great measure ascribes to him the honours of that campaign. Tom. 2. liv. 2. p. 352. 361. 365. &c.

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from whence I ſent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride poſt myſelf. Here it was that I received a letter from the King, which contained only theſe few words, "You have gueſſed truly: the "Duke of Savoy has deceived us; come to me as "ſoon as poſſible, and neglect nothing that may "be neceſſary to make him ſenſible of his perfi-"dy."

I was informed more particularly of all that had paſſed, by a letter from Villeroi. The King had ſent for Roncas, from whom he had received ſo little ſatisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, reſolving to preſs him in ſuch a manner as to leave him no ſubterfuge to have recourſe to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himſelf by his equivocations, which threw the King into ſo great a rage, that he would hear no more, and inſtantly took his rout towards Chamberry; and it was from this place that the above mentioned billet was dated. His Majeſty imagined, that this city would ſurrender at his approach, and that he ſhould not be at the trouble of inveſting it; but in this he was miſtaken.

This interval was employed by the King in ſoliciting his marriage with the Princeſs Mary of Medicis; and this negotiation, which was highly pleaſing to the Pope, was of ſervice to the King, in hindering his Holineſs from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his Majeſty had ſent to Rome on this occaſion, obtained all that he demanded: the marriage was concluded on, and nothing now remained but to ſend ſome perſon to Florence, to ſolemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earneſtly ſolicited for this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the procuration, which was given to the Duke of Florence.

While this ceremony was performing in Florence*

* See the whole account of it in La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1600.

Henry

Henry thought it neceſſary to appear wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments: however, that did not hinder him from laying out no leſs aſſiduouſly the whole plan of the campaign; he ordered Leſdiguieres to take an exact view of the caſtle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thouſand diſcharges, it might be taken, he reſolved to attack it. He likewiſe cauſed that of Bourg-en-Breſſe to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Caſtenet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that the place might be carried, it was reſolved to endeavour the taking of theſe two cities by petard, and in the ſame night; and in proper time beſiege the two citadels in form. Marechal Biron, to whom his Majeſty commited this enterpriſe, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Crequy, and reſerved that of Bourg to himſelf.

The King had, without knowing it, pitched upon him, amongſt all his general officers, who was the leaſt likely to give ſucceſs to the enterpriſe. Biron was at that time deeply engaged with the Duke of Savoy. It is thought that his treaty might have been at leaſt rough drawn or ſketched out by this time. He ſent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was deſigned to ſurpriſe him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is ſingular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the ſame night that it had been reſolved to attack it.

Bouvens communicated the advice he had received to the garriſon and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themſelves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay, trebled the corps de guard, and, in a word, took all poſſible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the ſtanding centinel himſelf. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the billet, which

which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that Marechal Biron, who was himself at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the enterprise impossible to be executed, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road so far about, that instead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have persuaded his officers to defer till another time an attempt which at such an hour was very improper. But his opinion was so strongly opposed by Saint Angel, Chambaret, Loustrange, Vienne, and particularly by Castenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the bastions should be filled, and likewise by Boesse, to whom his Majesty had promised the government of it; that Biron, fearing least he should incur the imputation of cowardice, and believing that the design would miscarry, was obliged to consent to it.

The affair turned out quite otherwise: the garrison and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterprise was blasted, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfast, and to refresh themselves with sleep; leaving the care of guarding the walls to some centinels, who being oppressed with sleep, acquitted themselves very ill of the charge. Castenet, with three faithful men whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterscarp, with each a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of tried bravery: the centinel cried, "Who goes there?" Castenet, whom I had instructed, answered, That they were friends of the city, who were come to advertise the governor, that some troops had appeared at the distance of two thousand paces, and were gone back: he added, That he had much more to say to Mosieur Bouvens from the Duke of Savoy; and desired the soldier

ſoldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might be opened. The centinel quitting his poſt to go to the governor's houſe, Caſtenet, without loſs of time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the draw-bridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of ſhort ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with ſuch rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately with his garriſon, into the citadel.

The town of Montmelian * was taken in the ſame manner; and Chamberry, by his Majeſty's orders, was inveſted: the citizens, full of terror, thought not of defending the town, but fortified themſelves in the caſtle, where at firſt they made a ſhew of reſiſtance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight pieces of canon, the fire of which they durſt not ſtand. By the order his Majeſty cauſed to be obſerved, there was not the leaſt violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their huſbands in this expedition, ſettled at Chamberry; and the next day, after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the town, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its maſter.

After this, the King ſent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furniſhing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to viſit, in this journey, the citadels of Saint Catharine, Seiſſel, Pierre-Chatel, l'Ecluſe, and other fortreſſes of Breſſe, particularly the caſtle of Bourg: he order-

* Conſult likewiſe, on all theſe military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600. in which Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewiſe tom. 1. des Mem. de Baſſompierre.

ed me likewiſe to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in heighth and nine in width; upon which I anſwered him, that ſuch gabions were only proper to make an incloſure for ſheep newly bought up in the country. The King, on his ſide, in the mean time, went to poſſeſs himſelf of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-John de Morienne, and Saint-Michael: not one of theſe places held out againſt the cannon. The taking of Miolens reſtored liberty to a man who had been detained in the priſons there fifteen years; Feugeres brought him to me on account of the ſingularity of a prediction that had been made him, upon the duration of his captivity, and the perſon by whom he ſhould be delivered; which was found to be exactly fulfilled.

I left Lyons, to execute the commiſſion his Majeſty had given me *. I reached Villars by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where I was received and treated with great politeneſs by Marechal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade me from it; repreſenting to me, that I expoſed myſelf to evident danger. He was certainly right: the enterpriſe was full of hazard; but it was becauſe this Marechal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my deſign, had given the enemies (for I cannot think otherwiſe) ſuch exact informations, that where ever I preſented myſelf I found a battery againſt me. Notwithſtanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finiſhed all my obſervations.

Biron, who probably had expected that I ſhould pay dear for my curioſity, finding that I had eſcaped, laid other ſnares for me: on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons, I received advice, that a party of the enemy, conſiſting

* In the Upper Breſſe.

of two hundred men, had arrived at a caſtle near the place where I was to lodge that night. I took notice of it to Biron, who then had none of that obliging ſolicitude for my ſafety which he had diſcovered before, and treated the information as a jeſt; which raiſed my ſuſpicions. I aſked him for an eſcort of ſoldiers; which he excuſed himſelf from granting, telling me, that he would commit this care to hi own guards: but he privately ordered them to return, and leave me at Villars, which they did notwithſtanding my intreaties to the contrary, as ſoon as I alighted at Villars, and my mules were unladed. The deſign of this proceeding appeared now but too plain. I ordered my mules to be loaded again, and travelled four leagues farther, nor ſtopped till I came to Vimy, where I thought myſelf in ſafety. My ſuſpicions that Biron had undertaken to deliver me up to the Duke of Savoy were changed to a certainty, when I learned that three hours after I had left Villars, the two hundred men came and ſtormed the houſe I had been at, and ſeemed very much concerned that they had miſſed their blow.

A courier from his Majeſty waited for me at Lyons; his buſineſs was, to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of thoſe little towns which the King had attacked that made any reſiſtance, and which ſurrendered immediately at the approach of the cannon. The King, whom I went to viſit at Saint-Pierre d'Albigny, told me, that he was afraid he ſhould not accompliſh ſo eaſily his deſigns upon Charbonnieres and the caſtle of Montmelian; and ſeemed to make ſome difficulty about undertaking thoſe ſieges at the approach of winter. I aſſured his Majeſty, that inſtead of five months (for ſo long he imagined the ſiege of Montmelian would laſt) it might be ended in ſo many weeks, provided that during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The King

gave

gave no credit to what I said on this head, and after I had left him, said to my brother and La-Varenne, that my enemies would take advantage of my presumptuous manner of talking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this castle, which had apparently escaped the observation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced any thing lightly.

The next day, the King taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army in his absence to me. During this time, I no longer employed myself in observing Montmelian, under the cannon of which we were, but in forming the plan of the outworks, and of the disposition of those batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the King at Grenoble, who had passed his time in deliberating with his council upon this enterprize, which he had forbad me absolutely to begin in his absence. I insisted again upon the reasonableness of undertaking it; and again found the same opposition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me, or attachment to the Duke of Savoy, that the Count of Soissons, the Duke d'Epernon, La-Guiche, and many others appeared so unreasonable: amongst all the counsellors, only Messieurs de Lesdiguieres and de Crequy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had just finished upon the table, and went out, saying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian should be attacked, I would go and put myself in readiness to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnieres, that the example of this fort, for the taking of which I demanded only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

Accordingly I laid siege to Charbonnieres, where I suffered incredible fatigues; the first difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely

narrow, bordered on one side by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly steep, and on the other by impracticable rocks: they could with difficulty travel a league a day, because they were every moment obliged to unharness the cannon, one of the wheels almost always running over the side of the precipice. We were certain at least of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell such violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days, which I had thought sufficient for the taking the place, had been almost wholly consumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuse in the council, against the malicious remark which the Count of Soissons and others did not fail to make upon the promise I had given. The King, who that moment looked at me attentively, perceiving that my face was very red, and all overspread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my clothes, examined my neck and breast, crying, "Ah! my friend, you are very ill." He sent immediately for Du-Laurens, who, after examining those pimples, said, that by bleeding, and taking a little care of myself, they would be removed. I had, indeed, overheated myself with labour; and, when in a violent sweat, had been wet quite through my clothes with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as soon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the King had his at Rochette, from whence he sent Thermes the next day to know how I was; and was greatly surprised to hear that his messenger had found me on horseback, visiting my batteries.

Before I erected them, I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, for that was the name of the little city at the foot of the fort. It seemed to me that I was known every where, and that there was a general

conspiracy

conſpiracy againſt me; for, as often as I appeared in view, a volley was diſcharged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnieres is ſituated, appearing inacceſſible on all ſides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted: however, examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what ſeemed on the outſide a natural rock, might probably, be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repreſſed the joy this diſcovery gave me, till the night afforded me an oportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and was tranſported with joy, when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I deſired, and that this baſtion was ſuch as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in doubt on what ſide I ſhould batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained, but to find out ſome place proper for erecting theſe batteries; for Charbonnieres is, indeed, ſurrounded with mountains that command the town, but ſo ſteep that a man can hardly aſcend them on foot. I began again to creep along theſe mountains, which in reality had a terrible appearance, and all ſeemed wholly inacceſſible to the canon, except one, upon the declivity of which I ſaw a road where it was not impoſſible but ſome pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main ſtrength. Unfortunately the acceſs to this road was by another which paſſed ſo near the fort, that they might pelt us from thence with ſtones.

This was another obſtacle which did not, however, cool me in my attempt. I choſe out two hundred French, and as many Swiſs, to each of whom I promiſed a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up ſix cannon, which I gave them, and mount them upon an eminence that I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night to this work, recommending to them particularly,

to

to make as little noiſe as poſſible; and to prevent the beſieged from obſerving it, cauſed horſes and carmen to advance in the oppoſite roads, whoſe cries and the ſmacking of the whips, drew all the enemy's fire to that ſide; but with no effect, for theſe carts were covered, in their march, by trees, gabions, and even by the walls, while my men that were employed in forcing up the cannon, eſcaped the notice of the beſieged, who were deafened with the noiſe of their own fire. I appointed La Vallée lieutenant of the ordnance in Britany, and other officers, to watch over and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained ſo violently, that La-Vallée and the reſt of the officers left their poſt to go to ſupper, and the ſoldiers their cannon when they were got about half way. This was what I had expected; and having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a ſevere reprimand, threatening them that they ſhould have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that inſtant to their taſk, which they reſumed, and the cannon again began to move. I did not quit them till I ſaw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving ſome check, their delay at length occaſioned their being diſcovered, and ſix were killed and eight wounded

I got back to my quarters while it was yet dark, ſoaked through with the rain, and ſo diſguiſed with dirt, that I was not to be known, but full of joy that my ſix pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I ſlept an hour, and breakfaſted, and returning to my work, met La-Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to value himſelf upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he ſaid, ought to have covered him with confuſion; but he was the moſt undaunted lyar I ever knew.

"What!

" What! you have been there then, ſaid he, with-
" out the ſmalleſt diſcompoſure. Well, I ſincerely
" confeſs I am a fool " " You are ſo, indeed,
" (replied I,) and ſomething worſe; but avoid
" ſuch a behaviour for the future, and repair
" your fault." It was not doubted, but the be-
ſieged would endeavour to make themſelves amends for their being ſurpriſed; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my mens labour, without any aſſiſtance from the horſes, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made proviſion of gabions, planks, and every thing that was neceſſary to make platforms there.

But, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this ſtubborn ground was ſtony, and could not be uſed for making port-holes and platforms, without running the danger of laming all who were employed in the work. The officers, for want of this uſual defence, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the whole fire of the place, came in great conſternation, to acquaint me with the condition they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they ſhould begin directly the paliſado, which I had ordered them to erect along the borders of the rocks, making it very high and thick to deprive the enemies, at leaſt of the ſight of the cannon, which, otherwiſe, they would be able to diſmount; and this was performed immediately, theſe mountains being almoſt all covered with wood. To ſupply the reſt, I ordered the carpenters, and pioneers of the army, to cut down two hundred large beech trees, which were cleaved into billets, ſome round to fill up the gabions, others ſquare, to make a ſecure lodgement for the ſix pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their laſt ſituation from the enemy, to which the branches of the

paliſado

paliſado greatly contributed, I contrived that there ſhould be on each ſide ſeveral openings filled with baſkets of earth; upon which the enemy made a continual fire; without knowing at what part of the paliſado the artillery was placed, till the moment when we were prepared to diſmount the battery of the fort, and throw down the paliſado by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, this work was completed; and about an hour afterward his Majeſty came to viſit it, and embracing me, aſſured me of the ſatisfaction it gave him. He ſaw no obſtacle that ſhould hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I repreſented to him, that it was ſtill neceſſary to delude the beſieged till night: this Prince ſubmitted to my opinion; but the Count of Soiſſons, D'Epernon, La-Guiche, and Villeroi, who attended him, making obſervations that his cannon was pointed againſt a rock, on which it would be uſeleſs to loſe more time, Henry came to me and ſaid that he would have them fire, that inſtant, ſome vollies upon the oppoſite ravelin; again I conteſted this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat; for it gave me great uneaſineſs to ſee a work, that had coſt me ſo much labour, likely to be ruined by too much precipitation. My reſiſtance put Henry into a paſſion, and he again, and in a very abſolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I had forgot he was the maſter. "Yes, Sire, (replied I immediately,) you are the "maſter, and ſhall be obeyed, tho' at the expence "of ruining every thing." I cauſed the paliſado to be thrown down, and gave orders that they ſhould fire, but I would not be a witneſs of it, and and withdrew in great diſcontent. As the guns were not aimed, every body took upon them to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a

hundred ineffectual discharges, the King sent La-Guesle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I intreated his Majesty would excuse me; for, it being now sunset, it was no longer time to undertake any thing. His Majesty ordered the firing to cease, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midst of my batteries, which I caused to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithstanding the rain that fell in great abundance. The besieged, on their side, laboured as hard, and were not without some apprehensions that they should find the place, to which they gave the most attention, defective: I judged so by the fires and candles which I saw lighted up in the fort, and contented myself with interrupting their security, by firing some discharges from time to time.

At the break of day, there arose so thick a fog, that, at six o'clock, the fort could not be seen: this unlucky accident gave me great uneasiness, because all my batteries were ready; and I had boasted over-night, that I would take Charbonnieres the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air, occasioned by the cannon, might possibly disperse the fog, and I caused some vollies to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jestingly proposed, succeeded almost beyond my hopes. No sooner had the rest of the artillery answered the cannon from the top of the mountain, than the fog wholly dissipated. The besieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon over against my six, which the imprudence committed the day before had discovered to them, and which at that instant, they endeavoured to dismount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and caused a piece to be pointed directly opposite to their port-holes, which rendered two of their four cannons useless, killed one gun-

ner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their diſcharge had killed, on our ſide, ſix gunners and two pioneers, and at length made our pieces uſeleſs, till they were diſlodged from thence.

The King ran thither, upon the noiſe, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place which I had contrived in ſuch a manner, that he might ſee every thing that paſſed without danger. This was an incloſure made with the largeſt trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of a rampart. I ſhewed his Majeſty the bodies of thoſe that had been juſt killed, and made him ſenſible, that this was the conſequence of the bad counſel that was followed the day before. I did not ſay this without deſign, perceiving that the ſame perſons continued ſtill to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his Majeſty againſt me. I did not ſuffer myſelf to be at all diſcompoſed with their obſervations, and told them haughtily, that, not having yet eat any thing, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were deſirous of playing the grand maſter of the ordnance, but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleaſed, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as grand maſter, conſiſted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half arch, formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The King ſent me a large trout pye, which was ſent him from Geneva. My dinner was ſoon over, and I went again to intreat his Majeſty that he would ſuffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promiſes that I would make him maſter of Charbonnieres that day. The King replied, that he would be contented if it was taken in three days: upon which La-Gueſle ſaid, that if he was in the place, he ſhould know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. Go there then,

then, said I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me pass for a boaster.

The King then withdrew into his inclosure, and delivered me from the importunate presence of his courtiers for three hours, which he passed in waiting for his dinner, at table, and in surveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time, I saw him come back with the Count of Soissons, to whom he said loud enough for me to hear, "This "place will not be taken to-day." The Count answered, with great complaisance, That his Majesty, who had more knowledge of war than any person whatsoever, ought to make use of his authority to force me to obey, instead of wasting time in battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon. I had my revenge that instant. The King came just at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me. I intreated his Majesty to have no part in the capitulation; and I told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I was resolved that the garrison should surrender at discretion. The lieutenant returned with a personated boldness, saying that there were still two hundred men in the fort who were able to hold it out eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Lesdiguieres and Villeroi with me, who persuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the besieged. Lesdiguieres even carried me towards the fort, to shew me that the enemies were not reduced to extremity. I stopped him when he came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be rashness to expose himself to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces distant, which served me as a shelter, while these gentlemen very unseasonably rallied me for my caution: but they soon changed their tone when a terrible fire obliged them to follow me.

The lieutenant of the fort returned a second time, but with propoſals little different from the former. I ſent him back without hearing him: upon which Villeroi ſaid, That, if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from acquainting the King that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him: and, ſending the beſieged my laſt reſolutions in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the ſecond diſcharge ſet fire to the powder of the beſieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and ſix or ſeven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any aſſiſtance to the breach, becauſe the cannon, ſweeping along a low path that led to it, at every fire deſtroyed ſome of their beſt ſoldiers. This made them reſolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I ſaw their drummer carried up in the air at the heighth of twelve feet, by a cannon-ball which entered the ground where he ſtood, but did him no other hurt. The beſieged then held up a pike, with a flag faſtened to the top, crying out that they ſurrendered, and implored us to ceaſe firing. Yet the artillery continued to play, till the enemies, holding out their hands over the breach to our ſoldiers, I was afraid ſome French would be killed amonſt them. I then mounted my horſe and entered the city on full gallop. It was lawful to treat it as one carried by aſſault: but that heart muſt be wholly impenetrable to compaſſion, that could not be ſoftened by a ſight ſo truly pitiable as now preſented itſelf: it was the women, the wounded, and thoſe that were ſcorched by the fire, who came and threw themſelves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the ſex ſo lovely as in this city, nor ſo finiſhed a beauty as one woman in particular who came to implore my mercy: inſtead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the

ſame

ſame conditions I had offered at firſt, and cauſed the garriſon to be conducted to a place of ſecurity which I had appointed for them.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs with Charbonnieres, I ſtill found great oppoſition in the council to my propoſal of attacking the caſtle of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care what you "do," ſaid his Majeſty to me, prejudiced by the great number that diſapproved of the attempt, "for if we are obliged to raiſe the ſiege, every one "will exclaim againſt you, and I poſſibly ſhall be "amongſt the firſt." They were not ſenſible at that time what a ſtrong train of artillery, well conducted, was able to do at a ſiege: what had happened at Charbonnieres had ſo confirmed me in my opinion on that head, that I did not ſcruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promiſed in a former council: I ſtipulated only for one condition, which his Majeſty could not deny me, becauſe he had accepted it, without its being named, and this was, that he ſhould not be preſent at the ſiege. I foreſaw that it would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the fortreſs, and of the attack; and every one agreeing that I ſhould make the attempt, I laid ſiege to the caſtle of Montmelian.

This caſtle is ſituated on a rock almoſt as hard as that of Charbonnieres, and ſo high that it commands the whole country about it; ſteep and inacceſſible on all ſides except that next the city, where the aſcent is leſs difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itſelf, and which muſt have been done with infinite labour with the point of a ſharp chiſſel; beſides which, there were three baſtions, that could neither be ſapped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock itſelf, almoſt impenetrable, and above a toiſe and a half deep. The country is ſtrewed with ſeveral mountains, but ſome are ſo diſtant, that they appeared

appeared to be absolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are nearest are so steep and pointed at the top, and so rugged and bare, that far from being possible to carry up and make use of cannon, it is difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The castle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with powder for eight thousand vollies at least, a proportionable garrison, and ammunition in great abundance.

The first thought that occurred to my mind, and supported it against obstacles in appearance unsurmountable, was, that however solid and continued the rock seemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the bastions were raised, it was not possible that it should be all of equal hardness; and if one part of it only was ever so little weaker than the rest, the artillery I had would secure me the means of opening a passage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the bastion called Mauvoisin; for otherwise it would have been impossible to have approached near enough to discern whether this whole mass was an entire rock, cut with a chissel; but the rock which we found even with the ground hindered us from carrying on the trenches.

I was obliged to have recourse to artifice; and one very dark night caused a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this bastion, and so low, that it could not be thrown down by the cannon: it was shot through and through with the small arms, as soon as the day discovered it to the besieged; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I suffered the enemy to discharge their rage for some days upon this hut, till of themselves they should cease to fire; which at length they did, supposing it had been built there to make them spend their powder in vain. When I found the besieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with

with which, upon occaſion, I could entirely cover my body againſt the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole baſtion: I perceived there a light at the bottom, from whence I concluded that it was hollow, and that it was not an entire rock which could be cut into ſo deep. Without doubt the beſieged were then making ſome repairs there, The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewiſe that the flank was uncovered; and this was proof that it was not a ſolid rock that formed either; and that this flank preſented itſelf naked, and eaſy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now ſatisfied, and had no other care but how to get out ſafely, which in broad day could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces diſtant from the parapet, which was lined with ſoldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could ſhelter myſelf. I ſeized that moment when the guards being relieved, the ſoldiers began to be careleſs, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as faſt as I was able: four centinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the ſame time; their muſquet-ſhot whiſtled about my ears, and covered me with gravel and flint-ſtones, but did not wound me; before the other ſoldiers were ready, I had gained the neareſt lodgement.

I had, at firſt, reſolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence, on the ſide of the Iſere, where they might be carried up more eaſily by the help of ſteps cut by the hands of men; but having obſerved, on the oppoſite ſide of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be ſeen the road that led to the wells of the caſtle, and to the magazine, the entrance of the tower, and the guard-houſe: I preferred this laſt, and conſidered upon the means to carry up ſix pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicularly ſteep on all ſides but one, and even the ſide of the aſcent

was

was a league about; but this was not the greateſt difficulty; to plant them there we muſt level rocks of ſuch hardneſs, that moſt of the officers thought the enterpriſe ridiculous.

The enemies were not of the ſame opinion: as ſoon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgement upon the edge of the rock, they pointed ſix pieces of cannon there likewiſe, and made a continual fire: the firſt volley was ſhot one day when I was giving directions about the works, with my ſtaff of command in my hand, dreſſed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head. I obſerved that this ſhot had paſſed a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below: perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I ſaid to Leſine, Maignan, and Feugeres, that this would be between both, and that, without doubt, the beſieged having perceived me would take an exact aim. I retired two or three ſteps behind a ſhelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand fixed in the place where I had ſtood myſelf; one ball threw down the pike, the others killed three pioneers and two gunners, and broke ſome glaſſes and bottles that had been brought for a refreſhment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his Majeſty, as an inſtance of raſhneſs in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my perſon being ſtill more neceſſary to him for the buſineſs of the ſtate than war, he deſired that I would not act like a mere ſoldier of fortune, who had a reputation to raiſe; and that he would recall me, if I diſobeyed this command.

Henry could not reſiſt the deſire he had to ſee the diſpoſition of this ſiege, and wrote to me a ſecond time, deſiring I would diſpenſe with the promiſe he had given me to the contrary, aſſuring me that he would go to thoſe places only that I ſhould appoint, and with no other attendants than the

Count of Soiſſons, D'Epernon, Bellegarde, and me. I intreated him, at leaſt, to diſguiſe himſelf in an ordinary cloak; and, above all, to ſhun, at the expence of going half a league about, a certain field, ſtrewed over with flint-ſtones, oppoſite to which the beſieged kept a party of thirty or forty ſoldiers continually, armed with muſkets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, becauſe they knew that our men paſſed every moment through this field, to go to the new battery raiſed upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this requeſt; but when he was upon the ſpot, he could not reſolve to uſe this precaution; and my intreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some muſket-ſhot that we were expoſed to at firſt, made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worſe when we entered the field: there was, at once, ſo terrible a diſcharge of the heavy cannon and ſmall ſhot, that we ſaw ourſelves in a moment all covered with earth, and our ſkin ſcratched with a ſhower of thoſe little flint ſtones. Henry making the ſign of the croſs, "It is now," ſaid I, "that I acknow-"ledge you to be a good Catholic." "Let us go," ſaid he; "this is a bad place." We doubled our pace, eſteeming it a ſingular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at leaſt lamed. No one thought of returning the ſame way, but took the road from the mountains, where I cauſed horſes to be brought for the company.

The King was a little aſhamed of his unneceſſary raſhneſs, which was the cauſe, that ſome days afterwards, when I ſent him notice that all my batteries were finiſhed, his Majeſty, who was then returned to the Tarantaiſe, having an inclination to ſee them, ordered me to make a truce for ſome hours with the governor. The King's curioſity being ſatisfied, I was ſeized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a grand maſter exerciſing his office in the royal

preſence; but as this could not be done without a diſcharge of the artillery, which would have been conſidered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the beſieged to break it, I ordered ſome commiſſaries to ſend certain ammunitions to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occaſion for there. The enemy, who had not loſt any part of their fierceneſs, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out, that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-ſhot. I had given my men orders, in caſe this happened, to hold themſelves in readineſs to anſwer them immediately by a general diſcharge. This was the firſt, and afforded matter for ſerious reflection to the beſieged, when they ſaw their tower battered by fifty cannon; they were the firſt to demand a continuation of the truce; eſpecially when a ſecond diſcharge ſucceeded ſo rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion, that the citadel was impregnable, and privately ſought out ways to procure an honourably compoſition.

Two women were, by chance, the firſt movers * of this accommodation. Madam de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the caſtle, amuſed herſelf with making little glaſs toys and pieces of chair-work. My wife being then in the town, ſhe ſent her a pair of earrings, and two chains of exquiſite workmanſhip. Madam de Roſny, in return, ſent her wine and veniſon, and deſired to know if it was not poſſible for them to ſee each other: they obtained permiſſion for it, and paſſed three afternoons together with ſuch familiarity, that, at length, they began to conſider how Montmelian might be ſurrendered

* The hiſtorian who has given us the life of the Duke d'Epernon, aſcribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

with

with honour. Each acquainted her husband with the subject of their conversations, and we were so far from opposing them, that they were authorised to go on, but concealed from one another that they had acted by permission. Madam de Brandis had an indisposition that made the country-air necessary for her. Her husband thought he could procure this favour through the interposition of my wife; and she made so reasonable a representation to him of the condition to which he would be soon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he consented to treat with me, and sent me a deputation for that purpose. I dispatched notice of it to the King, who proposed it to his council; and it was there resolved, that a month should be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place should be surrendered. I was very sure that it could not hold out so long, and that it was relying too much upon the doubtful sincerity of an enemy to grant such conditions. I gave my opinion freely; but it was to no purpose to oppose a resolution in which envy had as great a share as fear.

The King did not begin to repent of having followed the councils of Marechal Biron and d'Epernon rather than mine, till a little while before the expiration of the time granted to the besieged, a report was spread, that an army of twenty-five thousand men was coming over the Alps to their assistance. The King acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemies and fight them; but he was sensible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him such a fortress as Montmelian. He asked me if by some means or other there was not a possibility of putting him in possession of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheless accomplished, and in this manner.

Ever since the suspension of arms, the Count

of Brandis ſuffered all ſtrangers to enter his caſtle who brought proviſions and neceſſaries which the wounded, and even Madam de Brandis herſelf, had occaſion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the crowd was often ſo great, that ſome blows paſſed between them; for which the governor could not chaſtiſe them, becauſe there were a great many Frenchmen amongſt them, and therefore intreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience: and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I ſought for. I placed a guard of fifty choſen men at the gate of the caſtle, commanded by officers, who, being informed of my deſign, accuſtomed the guards of the caſtle to ſee them enter it at firſt three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garriſon, not daring any longer either to hinder or fire upon them, they found themſelves almoſt maſters of the caſtle itſelf, without giving them any aſſiſtance; but, on the contrary, inſtead of leſſening the diſorder, theſe French did all they could to increaſe it.

Brandis imputed all to the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and complained to me of it. I told him, that he might fall upon all thoſe ſtrangers, whom I ſuppoſed to be country-people. He replied, that he would have done ſo, but for the great number of my ſoldiers that were amongſt them; and that rather than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he choſe to confide to me the care of putting an end to the diſorder. I ſeemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I moſt ardently wiſhed) only to reſtore order and quiet, and told the governor, that I could eaſily accompliſh it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he conſented to it, and I cauſed fifty ſoldiers to enter; but theſe were not all, thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had ſlipt in with them; I came thither myſelf likewiſe, with all my train; and from that

time

time our party was so strong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our disposal.

Brandis then found the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwise than by shewing himself still more generous. He came to me, and told me, that he consented I should take possession of the tower, and that he remitted it wholly upon the security of my word. I resolved not to abuse his confidence, and faithfully observed all the articles. I supped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commission from the King, I went to tell him, that without any fears from Montmelian, he might march to meet his enemies; which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be false.

The garrison of Montmelian marched out after the month was elapsed, and yielded the place to his Majesty, who commanded me to settle Crequy there with his company. The garrison was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have persuaded the King to have dismantled this place, as it must undoubtedly be restored to the Duke of Savoy in case of a peace: and to have done the same by all the other conquered fortresses: but the advice of the courtiers, who all seemed to be in the pay of the Duke, saved Montmelian from a treament that good policy required.

The mystery of this conduct with regard to Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the discovery of some letters of Marechal Biron in cyphers: he told the Duke of Savoy, to whom they were addressed, that he had obtained a month for the garrison of Montmelian, to give him time to raise the siege: that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unless he made an effort to save this place, which could hold out three months longer; and assured him, that the reduction of it would give

him

him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this Prince after the caſtle was taken, he tells him, that his negligence in ſuccouring it had ſilenced the French Lords in his party, who would have declared againſt the King, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do ſo with ſafety. Notwithſtanding the caution he obſerved in not writing their names, they were all ſo well deſcribed that it was not difficult to know them. The ſilence I keep with regard to theſe names, is only in favour of ſome whom the public perhaps has not ſuſpected.

Montmelian was not yet ſurrendered, when it was reported in the French army, that Cardinal Aldobrandin, the Pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to come and treat with his Majeſty concerning a peace and his marriage. The King having appointed me to go and receive his Eminence, with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of 3000 foot and 500 troopers, all ſpruce fellows. It was not difficult for him to perceive, that it was the grand maſter of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach at Montmelian; the truce affording me an opportunity to make uſe of the artillery of the place, as if it had been my own. Upon this occaſion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour: the ſignal was given by a white flag, raiſed on the battery of the rock: mine began after a great fire of the ſmall ſhot, and was anſwered by that of the caſtle, in ſuch a manner, that both having time to load again, this double diſcharge of an hundred and ſeventy cannons, performed with the utmoſt regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidſt the mountains, had the nobleſt effect imaginable, though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than ſoothed by an honour ſo magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains about him were going to fall down, and had ſeveral times recourſe to the ſign of the croſs.

I carried the Cardinal to dinner at Notre Dame de Miens, and forwarned him of two things relating to the buſineſs he mentioned to me; one was, that he ſhould give no credit to any of thoſe perſons who would make a boaſt to him of their intereſt with his Majeſty; the other, that if they promiſed him to get all the places taken from the Duke of Savoy to be reſtored without being demoliſhed, he ſhould believe them ſtill leſs; for he might be aſſured this would never happen. After this caution, I reſigned him freely to thoſe ſent by his Majeſty to fetch him, and continued my hoſtilities, by beſieging the citadels of Bourg and fort Saint Catherine.

The latter was attacked before the other, at the intreaty of the citizens of Geneva, whom the King was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is ſituated on a riſing ground, in an open field, of which it ſeems to be the centre, Marechal Biron, who by chance was near me, aſked me to go that inſtant, on horſeback as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gayly dreſſed, and had too many plumes on, to examine it in open day: for the Marechal was mounted on a white horſe, and wore a large plume of feathers of the ſame colour. "No, no," ſaid he, you need not "be under any apprehenſion: *morbieu!* they will "not dare to fire upon us." "Let us go, then," replied I, "if you will, for if it rains upon me it "will ſprinkle upon you." Accordingly we came within two hundred paces of the fort, and obſerved it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen vollies of ſmall ſhot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horſe: which ſurpriſed me greatly. "Certainly, Sir," ſaid I to the Marechal, "there is no one within, or they "are aſleep, or afraid of us." The King could with difficulty believe this, becauſe being there himſelf

ſelf the day before, with ſix horſe only, they fired repeated vollies at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugeres, I was received with ſo great a noiſe of the artillery, that the King ſent Monteſpan thither, believing it was a ſally. "Whom are theſe fellows "aiming at?" ſaid Monteſpan to me, finding nobody in ſight. "At me, I believe," replied I, "but I have ſeen all that I wanted to ſee." However, I gueſſed ſoon after the reaſon of that reſpect which they ſhewed Marechal Biron. I perceived that the flank of the baſtions of St Catherine were ſo bad, that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better a condition. I aſſured his Majeſty, that as ſoon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch, the place would ſurrender. In effect, the beſieged, who were likewiſe in want of every thing, demanded to capitulate, if they were not ſuccoured in ſix days.

After I had opened the trench, I deſired leave from the King to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with an hundred horſe, and came very ſeaſonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the preſence of a great number of Catholics within their walls occaſioned. Meſſieurs de Guiſe, d'Elbeuf, d'Epernon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their ſeveral attendants. I aſſured them, that his Majeſty had their intereſt at heart, and that I would not leave them while thoſe gentlemen continued amongſt them: but the remembrance of the late perſecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be ſatisfied till I had removed the occaſion of their fears; which I did that evening by ſpeaking to thoſe gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their miniſter, at their head, to compliment his Majeſty,

and to endeavour to obtain a requeſt that they kept very ſecret; this was, the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine, which they were moſt ardently deſirous of. Beza delivered himſelf like a man of ſenſe, and one who knew how to praiſe with delicacy; congratulating the Proteſtants upon the happineſs which the reign of ſo good a prince promiſed them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to beſtow upon it any of his conqueſts which ſhould be moſt convenient for it; and preventing their requeſt, told them in a low voice, that they ſhould have the pleaſure to be maſters of the fate of fort Saint-Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my preſence (for he held me by the hand at the ſame time) that no intreaties whatſoever ſhould hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleaſed.

His Majeſty, at Cardinal Aldobrandin's requeſt, conſented that the conferences on the ſubject of a peace ſhould be held at Lyons, and appointed the Cardinal du Perron, the Conſtable, the Chancellor, Villeroi, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future Queen * arrived in that city. As ſoon as the

* This Princeſs left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an eſcort of ſeventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence ſhe came by the way of Marſeilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the King arrived poſt on the 9th of November. As ſoon as he alighted (I take the following account from the moſt authentic memoirs of theſe times) the Queen happened to be at ſupper; and having a deſire to ſee her at table without being diſcovered, he went as far as the drawing room, which was very much crouded; but he was known the moment he appeared by thoſe neareſt the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which, his Majeſty went away directly, without going farther. The Queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but ſtill gave no other ſigns than by putting the plates away as often as ſhe was ſerved with any thing, and eat ſo little, that ſhe ſeemed to have ſat down rather for form's ſake than to ſup. After the table was removed, ſhe returned immediately to her chamber. The King who waited only for this, came to her chamber-door, and ordering M. le Grand to go before, he knocked ſo hard, that the Queen thought it muſt be the King: upon this ſhe ſtept forward at the very inſtant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his Majeſty, at whoſe feet ſhe immediately

the King was informed of it, he quitted his quarters, and set out in very rainy weather, riding post, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, and waited there a full hour, wet through with the rain, and almost perished with cold, before they would open the gate; for his Majesty, that he might have the pleasure of surprizing the Queen, would not suffer himself to be named. They had not yet seen each other. The marriage ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended the King at supper, who afterwards dismissed us to refresh ourselves likewise; and he retired to the Queen's apartment.

His Majesty's arrival only increased the warmth with which they contested the articles of the peace: the plenipotentiaries were almost all in the Duke of Savoy's interest, and glad of an opportunity to make their court to the legate; which was the cause that Henry thought it necessary to make them give an account of their negociation, and severely blamed the commissioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Bellievre and Villeroi had promised the legate, that none of the fortresses which had been taken should be demolished, but especially Saint Catharine, for which the legate particularly solicited, as being the best, and even the

mediately threw herself. The King raised her up, embraced her with great tenderness, and all that was polite, passionate, and respectful, passed on both sides. After the first compliments were over, the King took her hand, and led her to the fire-place, where he continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to supper, but eat very sparingly. In the mean time, he bid Madam de Nevours, tell the Queen, that he had not provided himself with a bed, expecting she would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madam de Nevours carrying this message to the Queen, she returned for answer, that he had come thither only to obey his Majesty as the humblest of his servants. Upon this the King undressed, and went directly to the Queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. Chron. Septennaire, an. 1600 where also may be seen the particulars of the Queen's journey, and her reception in the towns of France, &c. De Thou, liv. 125. Matthieu, tom. II. p. 378.

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only bulwark the Duke of Savoy had againſt the republic of Geneva. Henry made them ſenſible, that their precipitation in ſubſcribing to an article of this importance without conſulting him, had given him ſome ſuſpicion of them; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head. Then ſending for me, he told me, that the ſhorteſt way to prevent the ſolicitation which he expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five baſtions of the fort, and to ſend word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiouſly nor more effectually executed. The Genevois, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials ſo carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort in the place; and at firſt the report ran, that it was deſtroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expreſſed great reſentment at it, and did not ſcruple to confeſs, in the heat of his paſſion, that I was the only perſon who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not ſufficiently attended to my admonitions. But his having, upon the faith of the commiſſioners, given very different expectations to the Pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. For three or four days the negotiation was entirely broke of; and when it was afterwards reſumed, it was with ſo much animoſity on his Eminence's part, that he rejected all the propoſitions that were made him. Theſe propoſitions were, That the Duke of Savoy ſhould yield to the King the courſe of the river Rhone and its borders: That he ſhould not erect any fort within a league of it to favour the Spaniards paſſage: That he ſhould leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages ſpecified likewiſe: That Beche-Dauphin * ſhould be demoliſhed, Chatçau-

* Frontier of Dauphiné.

Dauphin reſtored: and, laſtly, That the Duke ſhould pay a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns for the expences of the war.

The King looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obſtinacy of the legate, reſolved to carry on the war more vigorouſly than before, and communicated his deſign to me, which was, to go in ſearch of the Duke of Savoy at the head of his army; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obſtacles to this double project, beſides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterpriſe on Bourg very difficult to be executed, the ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced: the difference between this caſtle and that of Montmelian, with which I think it may be compared, is this, that for thoſe that have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten ſuch places as Bourg, becauſe that the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery ſufficient to batter the out-works; but for an army ſixty cannon ſtrong, the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg; becauſe this laſt being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically and by ſlow degrees. Had the counſel I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the ſurrender of Montmelian, been followed, it would have been now in the King's poſſeſſion.

With regard to this prince, his perplexity was occaſioned by his knowing in what manner the greateſt part of his general officers conſpired with Spain and the Duke of Savoy againſt him: he had great reaſon to be apprehenſive of engaging himſelf in the enemy's country, if they were with him: Leſdiguieres was the only one on whom he could depend; he had lately given an inſtance of his fidelity, in ſending notice by Calignon, that the Duke of Bouillon made uſe of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correſpondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had

had been more diligent to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion, Ondevous would not have had time to eſcape as he did, and his detention might have laid open all the ſchemes of the ſeditious; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Leſdiguieres. I adviſed the King to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him ſtill cloſer to his ſervice, by making him a marechal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the reſt, it was eaſy to prevent the conſequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a diſtance from the body of the army.

But the affair that appeared moſt preſſing to us both, being to procure a ſupply of money, it was reſolved that I ſhould ſet out for Paris in four days: and that I might be enabled to paſs ſix entire weeks there, I employed theſe four days in making all the neceſſary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the ſoldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expences of the King's houſhold. The very next day I ſent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, where I propoſed, as ſoon as I arrived, to ſend them down the Loire as far as Orleans: they waited there for me three or four days longer, becauſe my meaſures were broke by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

When I went to take leave of the King, he adviſed me to viſit the legate alſo before I ſet out, he having always expreſſed great eſteem for me. I went to viſit him booted, my poſt-horſes waiting for me on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to his lodgings. He aſked me where I was going in that equipage? "To Italy," replied I; "and I ſhall "go with good company to kiſs the Pope's foot." "How! to Italy?" ſaid he, in great amazement: "no, that muſt not be, Sir; I beg you will aſſiſt "me to renew this peace." I ſeemed to conſent,

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in reſpect only to his mediation, the King having laid aſide all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already propoſed, and afterwards aſked him, if he would give credit to what I was going to ſay to him? Having aſſured me he would, I told him, that he might be abſolutely certain, that of theſe articles his Majeſty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of the Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Beche-Dauphin; becauſe I was well acquainted with the King's intentions in all theſe reſpects. He deſired to know my reaſons, which I excuſed myſelf from telling him, on account of the ſhort time I had to ſtay. After walking thoughtfully ſeveral times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he aſked me, if, with the ſame proteſtations of ſincerity, I would aſſure him, that, provided he agreed to all theſe points, there ſhould be no mention made of the other. I told him, that I believed I might promiſe this. Upon which he intreated me to go and acquaint the King with what he had ſaid. Henry was glad to ſee me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate with full powers from his Majeſty. And we concluded that * inſtant a treaty which had languiſhed ſo long a time; the conditions of which were as follows.

The Duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquiſate of Saluces, which the King of France gave up, was to make a ceſſion to his Majeſty of the fortreſſes of Cental, Monts, and Roqueſparviere, all Breſſe entirely, the borders and country of the Rhone on both ſides, as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and ſome paſſages neceſſary for

* M de Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See alſo the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. p. 775. &c.

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his Highneſs to enter Franche-Compté; but he was not by this ceſſion to acquire a right to raiſe any tribute from theſe places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the King's permiſſion, and on condition, that for this privilege of paſſing the bridge of Grezin, the Duke ſhould pay France one hundred thouſand crowns: that he ſhould likewiſe reſign to his Majeſty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwic of Getz, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiné, on this ſide the Alps: that he ſhould likewiſe renounce the property of Aus, Chouſy, Valley, Pont d'Arley, Seiſſel, Chana, and Pierre-Chatel, to the borders of Geneva: That the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin ſhould be razed: that the King ſhould, on his ſide, reſtore all the other forts he had taken, which are not ſpecified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed there. The other articles related to criminals, and priſoners of war that had fled on either ſide, church-benefices, exchange of eſtates between private perſons, &c. It was articled for the Duke of Nemours, part of whoſe eſtate lay in this country, that he ſhould not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it, neither for the part which he held of the King, nor for that which he held of his Highneſs. The other clauſes common to all treaties I ſhall not mention.

Notwithſtanding this treaty was ſigned by me for the King, by the legate for the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy's agents, yet the Duke, influenced by the Count of Fuentes, put off ſo long the entire concluſion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the King thought it neceſſary not to lay down his arms: he took poſt to Paris *, where he waited for the Duke's determinations.

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* "He departed, ſays Baſſompierre, one night poſt from Lyons, "in order to return to Paris; and embarking at Rouanne he land-"ed

In caſe there ſhould be a neceſſity for his returning into Savoy, he had certain meaſures to take for the affairs within his kingdom, and in Paris eſpecially, at a time when every place was filled with malecontents. He left the Conſtable and Leſdiguieres till his return, with ſome good troops, upon that frontier; and Villeroi, and two or three other commiſſioners at Lyons, to conclude the buſineſs of the peace.

But his Majeſty found no occaſion to return into theſe provinces. The Duke of Savoy, after having long amuſed himſelf with expectations from the diſaffected French lords, gave place to more prudent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had already loſt by his obſtinacy, he thought himſelf very happy to accept the treaty in the form already mentioned; accordingly the laſt formalities were added, and the peace was publiſhed at Paris and Turin, with the uſual ceremonies: however, the articles were not executed without many difficulties being raiſed by the Duke of Savoy, which detained Villeroi at Lyons part of the following year: it was not till then that every thing was entirely agreed to; and Spain, who had taken great intereſt in the affair, even adviſed the Duke of Savoy to comply with the articles of the treaty. On all theſe occaſions Henry paid great deference to the Pope. He granted all the delays which the Duke of Savoy, by Count Octavio Taſſone, engaged the legate to demand; which was contrary to Villeroi's advice: but his Majeſty having in reality obtained all that

"ed at Briare, from whence he came to lie at Fontainebleau, and "next day dined at Villeneuve; and croſſing the Seine below the "Tuilleries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis,) "We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris.— "at length the Queen arrived at Nemours; and the King, having "rode poſt with ſixty freſh horſes, came and carried her to Fontaine-"bleau, where after ſtaying five or ſix days, ſhe arrived at Paris, and "was accomodated with apartments at the houſe of Gondy." Mem. de Baſſompierre, tom. I. p. 89. 90.

he could demand; which was contrary to Villeroi's advice: but his Majesty having in reality obtained all that he could demand, thought he ought not to observe too rigorously the manner it was yielded to him, nor hazard, for such a trifle, a renewal of the war. This produced as many advantages to the King as any war ended in a single campaign could possibly do. His Majesty declared, that Bresse should not be comprehended in the district of Lyons, but that it should be re-united to Burgundy, and be under the jurisdiction of the court of aides of Paris.

The Queen did not set out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her her uncle Don John, a bastard of the family of Medicis, Virgilius Ursinus her cousin, who being brought up, while young, with her, had conceived hopes above his condition. Many more Italians of both sexes were in her train; amongst others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigaï, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the Queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry *, which was performed with great magnificence. The next day the King brought the Queen and the whole court to the arsenal to dine with me; the Queen was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleased with the wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was necessary. I had some excellent white

* It does not appear that this princess was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, says the Chronologie Septennaire, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addressed the King for that purpose; but his Majesty chose rather that the expence of the entry should be laid out on other things that were more necessary. It afterwards adds: upon her arrival at the postern gate of the suburb St. Marcel, the Marquis de Rosny caused all the cannon of the arsenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the suburb St Germain, at Gondy's house, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre. *Ibid.*

wine, that was as clear as rock water: I ordered ſome decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies aſked for water, to temper the Burgundy they were preſented with this liquor. The King ſuſpected by their gaiety, that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleaſure, on account of the King's marriage.

In Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence; Prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May againſt the Archduke Albert, in which the * Admiral of Caſtile, the man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken priſoner. He afterwards laid ſiege to Nieuport, but was obliged to raiſe it. All I ſhall ſay of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Signior in Hungary, is, that the Duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general there by his Imperial Majeſty. I ſuppreſs a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the ſecular † jubilee at Rome, and ſhall conclude the memoirs of this year with an incident that afforded matter for much ſerious reflection upon duels: Breauté having ‡ killed his adverſary in ſingle combat, was afterwards aſſaſſinated himſelf.

BOOK

* This was the battle of Nieuport, that was fought in the month of July, wherein the Spaniards loſt 8000 men. The prince of Orange was nevertheleſs obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Nieuport and retire to Holland. The greateſt part of theſe foreign tranſactions are neither fully nor exactly related in our memoirs; and I therefore think it unneceſſary to give an account of them in the notes, but rather refer the reader to the memoirs and hiſtories of that time. In like manner conſult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the Emperor and the Grand Signior, which are mentioned here.

† It was ſaid, that 300,000 French, men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee, concerning which, ſee the ceremonies in La Septennaire, an. 1600, and other memoirs of that time.

‡ Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horſe in the ſervice of the ſtates; his antagoniſt was a Flemiſh ſoldier.

BOOK XII.

I Have now finiſhed the laſt military narration that will be found in theſe memoirs, at leaſt, in which France was concerned. The life of Henry the Great, hitherto wholly paſſed amidſt the tumult of arms, will in the ſequel exhibit only the actions of a pacific King, and father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated, leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by any of the ancient enemies of this monarchy, or that it would not ſubſiſt as long as his Majeſty pleaſed, I reſumed by his orders, and under his inſpection, thoſe ſchemes with regard to the finances that the war had ſuſpended, and were now to meet with no more interruption. After the repreſentation I have already given of the ſtate of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to conſider the life which the Prince and myſelf now embraced, as idle and inactive; if it is leſs noiſy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious.

I am now, then, again to be conſidered as ſhut up in my cloſet, where I applied myſelf, with the utmoſt attention, to the examination of all the a-

ſoldier, lieutenant of a company under the governor of Boiſleduc, with whom he fought in ſingle combat, 20 French againſt the ſame number of Flemiſh. After having the advantage in a firſt encounter, in which he killed his antagoniſt, he was made priſoner in a ſecond, and put to death by order of the governor of Boiſleduc. He was one, ſays the author of the Chron. Sep. that eagerly ſought after occaſions of duelling, for which reaſon he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

buſes that ſtill remained to be remedied in the chamber of accounts *; the offices of the finances, the crown-lands, the aids, the ſubſidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the reſt. I laboured at once for the preſent and the future, by taking ſuch meaſures, that the method I eſtabliſhed in the direction of every part of the finances ſhould not be afterwards ſubject to any alterations. I conſidered of means to enrich the King, without impoveriſhing his ſubjects, to pay his debts, repair his palaces; and ſtrove, with ſtill more aſſiduity, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, than that of attacking and defending them; and to make proviſion of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to the repairing and renewing public works, ſuch as roads, bridges, keys of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no leſs honour upon the ſovereign than the ſplendor of his own palaces, and are of general utility: for which purpoſe I began to look into the application that had been made of the money granted for thoſe uſes to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been uſed in the management of theſe funds.

The ſcheme of drawing up an account of every part of the finances, under the title of a general ſtate, which ſhould lay down their nature uniformly and clearly ſeemed always ſo happy a thought, and ſo proper to bring them to the utmoſt exactneſs, that where-ever this method was practicable I made uſe of it. On the firſt day of this year, when I preſented to the King the gold and ſilver medals, as uſual, I gave him at the ſame time five of theſe general ſtates, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up in one volume very neatly. In the firſt, which was of the

* As to theſe reformations, conſult likewiſe Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. 3. p. 444.

greateſt

greatest importance, because I there gave an account of all that concerned myself as superintendent, was set down on one side, all the money that was raised in France by the King from every tax whatever; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of collection, and consequently all that was to be brought clear into his Majesty's coffers. I cannot persuade myself that this method was never thought of by any one since the finances were subject to some regulation; but interest alone prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I shall always insist upon it, that without this guide there is no proceeding without mistakes or roguery.

The second of these states was drawn up merely for the use of the keeper of the royal treasury; here was set down, whence and upon what account he received all the King's money that passed thro' his hands during the year of his office, and how much he was at liberty to disburse out of the whole sum, and for what purposes. The third was compiled for the use of the master of the ordnance, containing an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that relates to the artillery; the number and sorts of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of instruments of war, and provisions of victual laid up in different places, or magazines; the state of the arsenals and fortified places, and other observations of the same sort. The fourth related to the chief surveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money disbursed or to be disbursed for the repair of ever thing under his charge, whether it was to be done at the expence of the King or of the provinces. And to conclude, the fifth contained a catalogue of cities and castles, particularly those on the frontiers, that required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works necessary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural situation and present state.

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The King, upon my repreſentation, reformed many abuſes with reſpect to money, which had cauſed a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief inſtrument; the firſt was the practice which was then allowed, of putting money to intereſt at eight, or even at ten *per cent.* * a practice of equal miſchief to the nobility and the people; to the nobility, becauſe they, being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their grounds, of which the price was brought down by high intereſt; to the people, becauſe, by putting out money to intereſt, they made as great profit by ſitting ſtill as by labour, and thereby kept immenſe ſums of monely uſeleſs to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by ſome means advantageous to the commonwealth. The intereſt of eight *per cent* was aboliſhed, and ſix *per cent.* allowed in its ſtead.

The coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and paſſed in commerce equally with that of our own ſovereign. A prohibition was iſſued, by which all money was put down but the coin of France †, that of Spain only excepted,

* It is thus that a Prince, in our times, remarkable for his abilities and ſuperior ſkill in politics, has judged: being firmly perſuaded, that the ſtate would receive great advantages in every reſpect from a regulation that would oblige monied men to betake themſelves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferable to the bare and dead produce of rents.

† It is true, that the ſpecies of foreign gold and ſilver coin ought not to paſs current and be confounded with that of the prince in inferior commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident, that the more ſuch coin abounds among our own money, the more flouriſhing will our commerce be? The hiſtorian Matthieu obſerves, tom. 2. l. 3. p. 446. that this prohibition made the commerce in France fall almoſt entirely; and the Duke of Sully himſelf agrees, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourſe to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this queſtion with him, when he comes to handle it in the following book. As to the prohibition of uſing gold and ſilver in clothes and houſhold furniture, we ſhall alſo have occaſion, in the ſequel, to give our opinion on the principles he eſtabliſhes with regard to luxury.

which

which would have been too much miſſed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more neceſſary to rid ourſelves of the merchandiſe of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures; and it is incredible how much miſchief was done by foreign ſtuffs, particularly thoſe of gold and ſilver. The importation of theſe, and of all others, was forbidden under ſevere penalties: and becauſe France had no means of ſupplying herſelf with them out of her own ſtock, we had recourſe to the true remedy, which is, to do without them the uſe of all ſtuffs wrought with gold and ſilver being forbidden by an edict *.

All theſe declarations tended to introduce one, by which it was forbidden to carry any ſpecies of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiſcation of all that ſhould be intercepted in the carriage, and likewiſe of all the eſtates of the offenders, as well thoſe that favoured as thoſe that were guilty of the infringement of this law. The King gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made, not to grant any pardon for this ſort of miſdemeanours; and even to hold all thoſe ſuſpected that ſhould dare to ſolicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige thoſe perſons that carried on ſuch practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obſtinate evil than all the threats that had been publiſhed againſt it. I was not ignorant that a great many very conſiderable perſons, and even amongſt the courtiers themſelves, made a fund

* He ſhewed, by his example, how to retrench the ſuperfluity of dreſs, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a purpoint of ſattin or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery; he commended ſuch as dreſſed in that plain faſhion, and ridiculed others, who carried, ſaid he, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. Peref. part 3.

out

out of this pernicious traffic, either by ſuffering this money to paſs under their names, or by ſelling, at a high price, the authority which enabled them to correſpond with the foreigners, and ſecured the privileges of paſſage. I thought it moſt prudent to apply myſelf to thoſe who were employed by them for theſe correſpondences, and promiſed them that, as a recompence for their diſcovery, they ſhould have the fourth part of theſe ſums that were ſeized by their informations; for the King having made over theſe confiſcations to me, I had a right to diſpoſe of them. By theſe means I was well ſerved.

A month was ſcarce elapſed, when I received notice from an inconſiderable man, the authors not being willing to make themſelves known, that there were two hundred thouſand crowns in gold collecting to ſend abroad, which was to be ſent at two different times, and that the firſt carriage would be much leſs than the ſecond. After having taken all the neceſſary precautions, this ſum appearing rather too conſiderable for me, I thought myſelf obliged to mention it to the King, who made this qualification in the right he had given me, that if the ſum did not exceed ten thouſand crowns, I might appropriate it to myſelf, but that the overplus ſhould be his, "Which will come," ſaid he, "very "ſeaſonably, having had ſome loſe at play that I "durſt not tell you of, nor make up with my own "money." I was not mercenary enough to wait for the profits of the ſecond carriage. I ordered the firſt to be dogged, and with ſuch vigilance, that it was ſtopped half a league beyond the territories of France. It could not be done in the kingdom, though but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furniſhing the offenders with a pretext for getting it releaſed. There was found in piſtoles, double piſtoles, and crowns of the ſun, to the amount of eight and forty thouſand crowns, which had been concealed in ſome bales of common goods

for exportation. The King's reſolution on this article was ſo well known that the conductors named no perſon as proprietor of it; and notwithſtanding all the noiſe this ſeizure made at court, it was diſavowed by every one; and the ſum was, by his Majeſty, divided in this manner: ſeventy-two thouſand livres he reſerved for himſelf, five and twenty thouſand he ordered ſhould be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-ſeven thouſand he left to me; promiſing me, that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this, no more money was attempted to be carried out of the kingdom; this example had given a general diſlike to ſo ruinous a traffic.

Thoſe that compoſed the chamber of juſtice *, which was erected againſt the contractors, treaſurers, receivers, and others who had been guilty of miſdemeanours in their offices, were likely in appearance, to exerciſe far greater ſeverities. It was my advice, that theſe offenders ſhould not only be obliged to refund, but that thoſe who were convicted of embezzling the public treaſure ſhould be corporally puniſhed. Money, however, the poſſeſſion of which covers all crimes it is the cauſe of, excepted this from the juſt rigour of the law †.

I

* Otherwiſe called the royal chamber: it conſiſted of a preſident of the parliament of Paris, two counſellors, two maſters of requeſt, a preſident and four counſellors of the chamber of accounts, a preſident and three counſellors of the court of aids, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commiſſioners were ſent into the provinces, to give them informations of ſuch as were guilty of any malverſations.

† The Duke of Sully ſeems to me to reaſon juſtly, when, in ſuppoſing the utility of the chambers of juſtice, he requires, that they ſhould not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to theſe corporal puniſhments. And he ſeems to me to have ſtill greater reaſon, when, in the ſequel, he adviſes to ſuppreſs this method as abſolutely uſeleſs; and entirely aboliſh, in France, the uſage

I would, were it poſſible, transfuſe into the breaſts of my countrymen ſome part of that indignation that fills mine, againſt ſo pernicious an abuſe, and all that contempt which I feel for thoſe that owe their elevation to it. If we conſider as a ſlight matter, the deſpicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this ſhameful cuſtom (for none ſtrikes more directly at the honour of the nation) we cannot conceal from ourſelves the evils it has given riſe to; nothing has contributed more toward perverting our ideas of probity, candor, and diſintereſtedneſs, or to turn thoſe virtues into ridicule; nothing has more ſtrengthened that fatal propenſity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but is with us become a ſecond nature, by that peculiarity of temper which makes us faſten eagerly upon every thing that can gratify our paſſions; and nothing in particular has ſo greatly degraded the French nobility, as the rapid and dazzling fortunes of contractors and other men of buſineſs, by that opinion which they have circulated every where, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almoſt the only method of arriving at the higheſt honours, and firſt employments of the ſtate, in the poſſeſſion of which all is forgot, and to the attainment all is permitted.

To go to the ſource, military virtue is almoſt the only quality by which true nobility can, in France, be obtained, preſerved, or dignified: and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be conſidered, that precedence muſt naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other claſſes of the community are preſerved and ſupported in that ſecurity without which there can be no property: but this ſtate of life is not the way to a great fortune; this ſimpli-

of compoſitions in farming the finances: and this is likewiſe the opinion of Cardinal Richelieu. Teſtament Polit. part 1. ch. 4. § 5.

city

city and separation from lucrative purposes shew the antiquity and purity of the first institution. By bravery nothing but honours could be got, because in those times honour was the only reward of glorious action: in later days, since the notions of mankind are changed, and every thing is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought in comparison with the managers of the revenue, the officers of justice, and the drudges of business. But this comparison terminates in a universal agreement, to pay to these gatherers of money that respect which must always be shewn to those who are possessed of power, and are in fact, our superiors, an advantage which the former have lost *. And, indeed, how should it be otherwise, when we see the nobility of the same mind, with regard to this point, as the meanest of the people, and making no scruple to mingle the most illustrious blood in a shameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but the change, his shop, his counter, and his knavery? This abuse is necessarily productive of two others, confusion of ranks, and degeneracy of families; which last is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongril gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we shall find them wholly destitute of the plain and manly virtue of their ancestors:

* The same Cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuse, and proposes a remedy for it, according to the Duke of Sully's scheme. "Gentlemen, (says he,) cannot be promoted to places of trust and "dignity, but at the expence of their ruin; for at present all sorts of "people are admitted to them through the infamous traffic carried "on by means of money. For the future, all persons should be excluded from those posts, but those that have the good fortune to "be of noble birth." This minister concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully. "That the means of continuing the nobility "in that purity of manners which they derive from their ancestors (these are his words) is to retrench that luxury and intolerable expence which have been gradually introduced." Part 1. ch. 3. § 1.

no depth of thought, no ſolidity of judgement, raſh, inconſiderate, a ſtrong paſſion for play, a natural propenſity to diſſoluteneſs, a ſolicitude for dreſs, and vitiated taſte in every kind of luxury; that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the effeminacy of their manners: yet theſe people engage in the army, but with ſuch diſpoſitions, to which is often added a ſecret contempt for the profeſſion they embrace, what can be expected from them? This ſubverſion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profeſſion, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the higheſt rank, and dignified with the chiefeſt honours, which, for that purpoſe, ought to be taken from the upſtarts of fortune; and ſince the infamy which we ſhould find theſe creatures of chance ſtained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not ſufficient to draw our contempt, it is neceſſary they ſhould be branded with public marks of diſgrace, to ſignify the rank they ought to hold.

The King was convinced by the juſtneſs of this reaſoning. However, in this chamber of juſtice, the ſame thing happened that generally does: the little rogues paid for all the reſt; the principal delinquents found their ſecurity in that very metal for which they were proſecuted; they made uſe of a ſmall part of it in preſents, which ſaved the other. This qualifying would not have prevailed with the King had it been employed directly; but it found acceptance with the ladies of the court, and even with the Queen herſelf; they gained the Conſtable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and ſome others, who though not of this high claſs, knew as well how to work upon the King's inclinations; ſuch were Zamet, La-Varenne, Gondy, Boneuil, Conchini, and many more of that ſort. The complaiſance of this prince for all thoſe whom he ſuffered to

live

live in some degree of familiarity with him, and especially for ladies, destroyed all his wise resolutions, so that the storm fell only upon those that had reason to reproach themselves with not having yet stolen enough to put their thefts in security. The retrenching of part of those officers of all ranks, with which the bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of justice. The great number of those officers, as well as their extreme licentiousness, are indubitable testimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a state, and the forerunners of its ruin.

In May the King and Queen had the devotion to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their Majesties as far as half a league beyond Fontainebleau, from whence they proceeded that evening to Puiseaux. I took advantage of this little vacation, to visit the lands of Baugy, which had been just awarded to me by a decree, for the great sums which were due to me from these lands, and upon which I began to build immediately with the confiscated money I have lately mentioned. I was stopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to lie, by a courier from his Majesty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the King which contained only these few words. "I "gave you six days for your journey to Baugy, "but I have received letters of great consequence "from Buzenval, which I want to shew you; you "will oblige me if you will come and lie to-night "here at Puiseaux, whither you need bring no "necessaries. I have given orders for your lodging, and sent thither my hunting bed, and have "ordered Coquet to get your supper ready, and "your breakfast in the morning, for I will detain "you no longer. Adieu, my beloved friend."

I wiſhed my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, and a valet de chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puiſeaux, where I found the King, who was amuſing himſelf with ſeeing the youth of his train wreſtle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he called me Paſquier, who had been ſent to him by Villeroi, with Buzenval's letters, which informed the King, that Prince Maurice had taken the field with his army, which he had increaſed with garriſons drawn out of their quarters, and eſcorted by two thouſand waggons; that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the Prince of Orange's officers, and from the Prince himſelf) to croſs Brabant, the country of Leige, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he expected aſſiſtance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkirk, and Nieuport; that the Archduke, greatly inferior to the Prince of Orange, not having yet received the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld thoſe preparations with aſtoniſhment, and durſt not oppoſe his march, but that he contented himſelf with being near him, that he might oblige him to keep in a narrow compaſs, and that while he obſtructed him, he might be himſelf near the place where he perceived the ſtorm would fall; that, finding this ſtep, which had been communicated to him, of great importance, he thought it was neceſſary to inform the King of it.

The knowledge I had of the Low-Countries made this deſign of the Prince of Orange appear to me ſo dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy, and upon their frontiers, through countries ſo full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in Liegeois,

Liegeois, that I thought them impaſſable for ſuch a number of waggons; and the King was of the ſame opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he reſolved to ſend Prince Maurice his ſentiments of it, and I reſumed my rout to Baugy, in which I viſited the lands of Sully, that I had a deſign of purchaſing, and did ſo accordingly the following year. The King continued his pilgrimage to Orleans, and laid there the firſt ſtone for the rebuilding the church of the holy croſs; he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his Majeſty.

Henry's letter changed the deſign of Naſſau; he beſieged Rhimberg, and took it on the tenth of June. The Archduke Albert, in revenge, inveſted Oſtend on * the fifth of July. Maurice, on his ſide, laid ſiege to Bolduc, either to force the Archduke to abandon his enterpriſe, or to indemnify himſelf by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the moſt important fortreſs in Brabant. I was ſtill of opinion, that he would do neither; and when the King ſent for me, to hear my ſentiments of it in the preſence of the courtiers who were by when the pacquet which brought the news was opened, and who all ſpoke differently of it; I ſaid, that although I was very young when I had viſited Bolduc, I had nevertheleſs preſerved the remembrance of the place, and that, not to mention its ſituation, which rendered the ſiege of it a work of immenſe labour, it ſeemed to me impoſſible, conſidering the extent of the place, and the great number of its citizens, to ſurround it in ſuch a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at leaſt without an army of

* It will be often mentioned; this ſiege, in which many brave actions were performed on both ſides, having laſted above three years; but for a minute detail of them, conſult M. de Thou, Le Septennaire, and other hiſtorians.

twenty-

twenty-five thousand men. In effect, the Prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

The war breaking out so near our frontiers, made Henry resolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other design but to visit that country. Although he always suspected the Spaniards, he was not apprehensive, in the present state of the affairs of that crown, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace: but he was not displeased at having an opportunity to give them a little uneasiness, in revenge for the daily occasions of discontent which he received from them. They acted, indeed, in a manner sufficient to have obliged his Majesty to do something more, had not policy prevailed over resentment. After many fruitless attempts to break the alliance between the Swiss cantons and France, and to hinder the Pope from acting as arbitrator in the dispute about the marquisate of Saluces, because his Holiness could not dispense with himself from giving judgement against the Duke of Savoy, they had sent troops to that prince in the last campaign, under the command of the Count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with Marechal Biron, Bouillon, D'Auvergne, the Prince of Joinville, were publicly known. Biron himself had confessed it to his Majesty: and lastly, the King, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marseilles, and Bayonne.

At all this his Majesty dissembled his displeasure; but nothing provoked him against that crown so much, as the outrage * which La-Rochepot, our am-

* Antony de Silly, Count de la Rochepot. His nephew happening to bathe himself with some French gentlemen, was insulted by some Spaniards who flung his cloaths, and those of his companions into the river. These revenged themselves for the affront by kill-

ambaſſador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole train had received from that court. La-Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I ſwear by "heaven, (ſaid Henry tranſported with rage,) "that, if I can but once ſee my affairs in order, "and get a ſufficient ſupply of money, and what-"ever elſe is neceſſary, I will make ſo furious a "war upon them, that they ſhall repent of having "obliged me to take up arms." However, he ſtill ſhut his eyes upon ſo glaring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I ſee plainly, "(ſaid this prince to me ſometimes,) that, through "emulation, jealouſy, and intereſt of ſtate, "France and Spain can never be on friendly "terms with each other, and that a proper ſecu-"rity againſt that crown muſt have ſome other "foundation than words." He was ſufficiently convinced of the error in Villeroi and Sillery's policy, who often, in his preſence, maintained againſt me, that a ſtrict union with Spain was not only neither impoſſible nor dangerous for France, but likewiſe the moſt reaſonable ſyſtem of politics that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I oppoſed that competition ſo natural to theſe two crowns, the oppoſition of their intereſts, and the remembrance of ſo many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with a neighbour ſo artful and unjuſt, the neceſſary meaſures to be taken were, to hold them always ſuſpected, and to be always prepared for defence. The laſt news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over

ing and wounding ſome of the Spaniards; thoſe that fled ſoon after returned to force open the ambaſſador's houſe, and thence dragged his nephew to priſon, with others of his aſſociates that had taken ſhelter there. This difference was compromiſed by the Pope, who cauſed the priſoners to be ſent to him to Rome, and delivered them to the Count de Betthune, brother to M. de Sully, ambaſſador of France at that court. See the above-mentioned hiſtorians for the year 1601.

my opponents, at leaſt in the King's opinion, who heſitated no longer about going to Oſtend, after he had diſmiſſed two celebrated embaſſies, which he received about this time.

One of theſe embaſſies was from the Grand Seignior, who knowing that the Sophy of Perſia, his enemy, had ſent a ſolemn deputation to the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, without taking any notice of the King of France, againſt whom he ſeemed to make an overture of his aſſiſtance, at the ſame time that he aſked for theirs, he was returning one act for another. His Highneſs, on this occaſion, made uſe of his phyſician, who * was a Chriſtian, and inveſted him with the dignity of his ambaſſador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expreſſed himſelf, with regard to the French †, diſcovered a diſtinction and reſpect, of which there are few examples; he ſet a higher value, he ſaid, upon the friendſhip and arms of the French, than of all the other Chriſtian nations together; and that, although they ſhould all unite with Perſia againſt him, he ſhould think himſelf in a condition to deſpiſe their attempts, as ſoon as he had ſecured the alliance and aſſiſtance of a King, whoſe ſuperiority over his neighbours, as well as his great perſonal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkiſh ambaſſador preſented his Majeſty with ſeveral rich

* Barthelemew Cœur, a renegado of Marſeilles. He demanded of the King, that the Duke of Mercœur ſhould be recalled from Hungary, becauſe, among the propheſies which the Turks believe, there is one, they ſay, that the French ſhall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† To the moſt glorious, moſt magnanimous, and moſt illuſtrious Prince of the faith of Jeſus — the compoſer of the differences that happen between Chriſtian potentates, prince of grandeur, majeſty and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greateſt ſubjects, Henry the IV. emperor of France; ſuch were the titles which his Highneſs gave the King. MSS. de la Biblioth. de Roy, vol. 9592.

preſents,

preſents, and gave me two ſcymetars of exquiſite workmanſhip, which I keep with great care.

The other ambaſſador was from the republic of Venice. This ſtate had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common intereſt, united with France againſt the Spaniſh power: it had been amongſt the firſt in complimenting his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty upon his marriage and the peace, by the Sieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the laſt of whom was likewiſe in this embaſſy. Henry was deſirous that theſe ambaſſadors ſhould be received with the utmoſt diſtinction in Paris. He ordered them to be ſerved with his own plate, and loaded them with preſents of equal value with thoſe he gave the firſt. The letters he then wrote to me turned almoſt wholly upon this head, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the Queen, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, upon which account the King could not come immediately to Paris, and ſtill leſs the Queen, who had ſo great a concern in this embaſſy. His Majeſty ſhewed ſo much reſpect for the Venetian ambaſſadors, as not to ſuffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages attended them.

The Archduke could not fail to ſuſpect, that the King, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obſtruct their deſigns upon Oſtend, by way of repriſal for the ill treatment La Rochepot had received. In order to diſcover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the Count of Solre in the quality of ambaſſador, under a pretence of making him the ſame compliments on the Queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts; enjoining this ambaſſador to inſinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the King, who, inſtead of ſatisfying him as to the occaſion of his complaints,

made, in his turn, very heavy ones againſt Spain, aſſuring him, however, but in a general manner, that he would not be the firſt to come to a rupture, provided that the Spaniards did not force him to it by continuing their unfair proceedings. With this promiſe the ambaſſador pretended to be ſatisfied.

The Queen of England hearing the King was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to ſatisfy her impatience of ſeeing and embracing her beſt friend. Henry was not leſs deſirous of this interview, that he might confer with the Queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, eſpecially thoſe which had been juſt hinted to him by the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors when he was at Nantz. Eliſabeth firſt wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of ſervice; ſhe afterwards made him the uſual compliments, and repeated thoſe aſſurances by the Lord Edmund, whom ſhe diſpatched to Calais, till ſhe herſelf could arrive at Dover, from whence ſhe ſent the Lord Sidney with other letters.

Henry reſolving not to be outdone in complaiſance, anſwered theſe advances in a manner that ſhewed at once his reſpect for the ſex of Eliſabeth, and his eſteem and admiration of her character. This intercourſe continued a long time to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whoſe jealouſy was ſtrongly excited by proximity and cloſe correſpondence. Of all the letters wrote by theſe two ſovereigns on this occaſion, I am poſſeſſed only of that in which Eliſabeth informs the King of thoſe obſtacles that prevented her conferring with him in perſon, lamenting the unhappineſs of princes, who, contrary to their inclinations, were ſlaves to forms, and fettered by circumſpection. This letter *, becauſe it was the occaſion of the voyage I made

* This letter, and this whole relation of the Duke of Sully's concerning

made to this Princeſs, I have kept in my hands: in it ſhe tells her moſt dear and well beloved brother (for ſo ſhe called the King of France) that her concern at not being able to ſee him was ſo much the greater, as ſhe had ſomething to communicate to him, which ſhe durſt not confide to any other perſon, or commit to paper, and yet that ſhe was upon the point of returning to London.

The King's curioſity was ſtrongly excited by theſe laſt words; in vain did he torture his imagination to gueſs their purport. Secretary Feret being ſent by him to fetch me, "I have juſt now received letters," ſaid he to me, "from my good "ſiſter the Queen of England, whom you admire "ſo greatly; they are fuller of civilities than ever; "ſee if you will have more ſucceſs than I have had "in diſcovering her meaning." I agreed with Henry that it muſt be ſomething of great conſe-

cerning Henry IV.'s journey to Calais, and Eliſabeth's to Dover, appear ſufficient, without any other reflections, to ſhew the error of all theſe various judgements current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different hiſtorians concerning theſe two potentates. It was ſaid Eliſabeth propoſed to Henry, either that he ſhould come to Dover, or at leaſt confer with her in a veſſel half way between theſe two towns, and that this propoſal concealed a ſnare in which Eliſabeth hoped to entrap Henry, by ſeizing upon his perſon in the interview, and keeping him priſoner till he reſtored Calais, and that Henry excuſed himſelf from complying with her requeſt, only becauſe he ſuſpected the deſign; others ſay, becauſe his fears of the ſea were ſo great, that he durſt not venture into a veſſel. No one ſuſpected the true motive for propoſing this interview, which was the occaſion of all theſe letters that paſſed between them, and cauſed the Duke of Sully to make the ſecret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account. Siri, on this occaſion, builds upon the reſentment which he ſuppoſes Eliſabeth always preſerved, both of the peace of Vervins, and the ſurrender of Calais, as well as her fear leſt Henry ſhould aggrandiſe himſelf too much, and on the jealouſy which the Engliſh entertained of the French. Mem. Recond. vol. 1. p. 130. 150. &c. But this writer, ſo well acquainted with foreign negotiations, eſpecially thoſe of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry IV. He knew neither this prince nor the Duke of Sully.

quence

quence which induced her to expreſs herſelf in this manner; it was reſolved, therefore, that I ſhould embark the next day for Dover, as if with no other deſign than to take advantage of the ſhortneſs of the paſſage to make a tour to London, which would give me an opportunity of ſeeing what ſtep the Queen would take upon my arrival, neither the King nor I doubting but that ſhe would be immediately informed of it. I acquainted no one with my intended paſſage, but ſuch of my domeſtics as were to attend me, and of theſe I took but a very ſmall number.

I embarked early in the morning, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where, among the crowd of thoſe who embarked and diſembarked, I was immediately diſcovered by the Lord Sidney, who five or ſix days before had ſeen me at Calais: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were ſoon after joined by the Earls of Devonſhire and Pembroke. Sidney embraced me, and aſked me, if I was come to ſee the Queen? I told I was not, and even aſſured him, that the King knew nothing of my voyage: I likewiſe intreated him not to mention it to the Queen, for not having had any intention of paying my reſpects to her, I had no letter to preſent, my deſign being only to make a ſhort tour *incognito* to London. Theſe gentlemen replied ſmiling, that I had taken a uſeleſs precaution, for that probably the guardſhip had already given a ſignal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to ſee a meſſenger from the Queen, who would not ſuffer me to paſs in this manner, having but three days ago ſpoke of me publicly, and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident, but to hope nevertheleſs, that I might ſtill paſs undiſcovered, provided that theſe gentlemen would be ſecret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I aſſured them, I would immediately

depart

depart as ſoon as I had a little refreſhment: ſaying this, I left them abruptly, and had but juſt entered my apartment, and ſpoke a few words to my people, when I felt ſomebody embrace me from behind, who told me, that he arreſted me as a priſoner to the Queen. This was the captain of her guards, whoſe embrace I returned, and replied ſmiling, that I ſhould eſteem ſuch impriſonment a great honour.

His orders were to conduct me directly to the Queen; I therefore followed him. "It is well, "M. de Roſny," ſaid this Princeſs to me as ſoon as I appeared; "and do you break our fences "thus, and paſs on without coming to ſee me? I "am greatly ſurpriſed at it, for I thought you "bore me more affection than any of my ſervants, "and I am perſuaded that I have given you no "cauſe to change thoſe ſentiments." I replied in few words, but ſuch as ſo gracious a reception required. After which I began, without any diſguiſe, to entertain her with thoſe ſentiments the King my maſter had for her. "To give you a "proof," replied ſhe, "that I believe all you have "told me, of the goodwill of the King my bro-"ther, and of your own, I will diſcourſe with "you on the ſubject of the laſt letter I wrote to "him; though perhaps you have ſeen it, for Staf-"ford (that is the name of the Lord Sidney) and "Edmund tell me, that the King conceals few "of his ſecrets from you." She then drew me aſide, that ſhe might ſpeak to me with the greateſt freedom, on the preſent ſtate of affairs in Europe; and this ſhe did with ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs, beginning from the treaty of Vervins, that I was convinced this great Queen was truly worthy of that high reputation ſhe had acquired in Europe. She entered into this detail, only to ſhew me how neceſſary it was that the King of France ſhould, in concert with her, begin to execute thoſe great deſigns

ſigns which they both meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The neceſſity of this ſhe founded upon the acceſſions this houſe was daily ſeen to make: ſhe repeated to me all that had paſſed on this ſubject in 1598, between the King and the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors, and aſked me if this Prince did not ſtill continue to have the ſame ſentiments, and why he ſo long delayed to begin the enterprize?

To theſe queſtions of Queen Eliſabeth, I anſwered, That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſtill continued to think of that affair as he always had done: that the men and money he was raiſing, and the other warlike preparations he was making, were deſtined to no other purpoſe than the execution of the concerted plan; but that in France things were far from being in ſuch a ſtate, as to enable him to undertake the deſtruction of a power ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed as that of the Auſtrian princes. This I proved, by the extraordinary expences Henry had been at ſince the peace of Vervins, as well for the general neceſſities of his kingdom, as to reſtrain the attempts of the ſeditious, and to carry on the war which he had juſt ended with Savoy. I did not diſſemble with this princeſs the opinion I had always entertained of this enterprize, which is, that though England and the United Provinces ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reduce the houſe of Auſtria, unleſs they were aſſiſted by all the forces of the French monarchy, and on whom, for many reaſons, the chief weight of this war muſt fall, the houſe of Auſtria, by uniting the forces of its two branches, might, without any difficulty, not only ſupport itſelf againſt them, but even render the balance equal; it would therefore be uſeleſs, and even an imprudent attempt, to endeavour to ſap the foundations of ſo formidable a power, by the ſame means only that ſerve merely to keep upon the defenſive with it: and it would

be indiſpenſably neceſſary to defer the attempt for ſome years, during which France would acquire all ſhe now wanted, to enable her to ſtrike more effectually the blow that was preparing for the common enemy; and would, in conjunction with her allies, endeavour to engage the neighbouring princes and ſtates in their deſign, the princes of Germany eſpecially, who were more immediately threatened by the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria.

It was eaſy for the Queen of England to comprehend by the manner in which I expreſſed myſelf, that theſe were not ſo much my own as Henry's ſentiments, which I communicated to her, and ſhe gave me to underſtand as much, by confeſſing, that they appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable to her, that ſhe could not avoid adopting them: adding only, that there was one point on which all the parties could not be too ſoon agreed, which was, that the ultimate view of the intended combination being to confine the power of the houſe of Auſtria within juſt bounds, it would be neceſſary that each of the allies ſhould ſo proportion all his deſires or expectations, which he might conceive in conſequence of the event, as that none of them might be capable of giving umbrage to the reſt: ſuppoſing, for example, that Spain ſhould be deprived of the Low Countries, neither the whole nor any part of this ſtate was to be coveted, either by the King of France, or the King of Scotland, who would one day become ſo of Great Britain, nor yet by the Kings of Sweden and Demnark, already ſufficiently powerful by ſea and land, to make themſelves reſpected by the other allies; and that the ſame conduct ought to be obſerved with regard to all the other ſpoils that might be taken from the houſe of Auſtria, by thoſe princes whoſe dominions ſhould happen to be neareſt to the conquered countries; "For if my brother the King of France," ſaid ſhe, "ſhould think of making himſelf proprietor,

" or even only feodal lord of the United Provinces, " I ſhould never conſent to it, but entertain a moſt " violent jealouſy of him; nor ſhould I blame " him, if, giving him the ſame occaſion, he ſhould " have the ſame fears of me."

Theſe were not the only reflections made by the Queen of England; ſhe ſaid many other things, which appeared to me ſo juſt and ſenſible, that I was filled with aſtoniſhment and admiration. It is not unuſual to behold princes form great deſigns; their ſphere of action ſo forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only neceſſary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are ſo little proportioned to perform, that they ſcarce ever find themſelves able to execute the half of what they propoſed; but to be able to diſtinguiſh and form only ſuch as are reaſonable; wiſely to regulate the conduct of them; to foreſee and guard againſt all obſtacles in ſuch a manner, that when they happen nothing more will be neceſſary, than to apply the remedies prepared long before; this is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, proſperity, luxury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce ſchemes, to execute which there is not the leaſt poſſibility. Another cauſe of ſurpriſe to me, was, that Eliſabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, ſhould agree ſo exactly in all their ideas, as not to differ even in the moſt minute particulars.

The Queen obſerving my eyes were attentively fixed on her without ſpeaking, imagined ſhe had expreſſed herſelf ſo confuſedly in ſomething ſhe had ſaid, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingeniouſly confeſſed to her the true cauſe of my ſilence and ſurpriſe, ſhe then, without ſcruple, entered into the moſt minute parts of the deſign: but as I ſhall have an ample occaſion to treat of this, in relating the great ſchemes

which

which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV. I ſhall not trouble the reader with uſeleſs repetitions; but in this place juſt ſhew the five principal points to which her Majeſty reduced ſo extenſive a ſcheme, as from the ſequel of theſe memoirs this will appear to have been. The firſt was to reſtore Germany to its ancient liberty, in reſpect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The ſecond, to render the United Provinces abſolutely independent of Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if neceſſary, ſome provinces diſmembered from Germany. The third, to do the ſame in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it ſome of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alſace and Franche-Compté. The fourth, to divide all Chriſtendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under thoſe three which ſhould appear to be moſt numerous and conſiderable in Europe.

Our conference was very long. I cannot beſtow praiſes upon the Queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I diſcovered in her in this ſhort time, both as to the qualities of the heart, and the underſtanding. I gave an exact relation of every thing that paſſed between us to the King, who very highly approved all ſhe had ſaid to me. Their Majeſties correſponded by letters, during the reſt of the time they ſtayed at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; meaſures were taken even on the grand object of the deſign, but with ſuch ſecrecy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the King, and even much longer, among the number of thoſe on which only various and uncertain conjectures are formed.

The King did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortreſſes upon this frontier, and provided for their ſecurity: in every other

reſpect he appeared an indifferent ſpectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh; and all he did in favour of Oſtend, the ſiege of which was ſtill continued, was not to hinder ſome French from engaging in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange, in which ſeveral of them loſt their lives; amongſt theſe, the death of young * Chatillon-Coligny, whoſe head was ſhot off by a cannon-ball before Oſtend, deſerved to be particularly lamented. The King, when he was told it, ſaid publicly, that France had loſt a man of great merit: myſelf, in particular, was ſenſibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almoſt all the qualities that form a ſoldier; valour, moderation, prudence, judgement, and the art of making himſelf equally beloved by the ſoldier and officer.

But Coligny was a Proteſtant; and the jealouſy of the courtiers ſoon converted all theſe virtues into ſo many crimes, in the opinion of the King; they told his Majeſty, that Coligny already aſpired to the diſtinction of being head of the Proteſtants, both within and without the kingdom, to which he was ſolicited by the Duke of Bouillon; that he deſired nothing with ſo much ardour as to equal, or even to ſurpaſs, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare, that he ſhould not regret the loſs of life, if he had the ſatisfaction to loſe it at the head of an army, fighting for the preſervation of his friends. His affection for the ſoldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They hinted to the King, that he had already raiſed a jealouſy in the Prince of

* Henry de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon, ſon to Francis, and grandſon to the Admiral de Coligny; he carried to the aſſiſtance of Oſtend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantome, the houſe of Chatillon-Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and antient lineage, as he ſays, and who were formerly ſovereign princes, and very powerful. Tom. 3. p. 173.

Orange;

Orange; and that his Majesty would one day have reason to fear a shoot from a stock that had given so much trouble to our kings. Henry was so far influenced by these insinuations, that when I went to ask some favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but also so greatly prejudiced against the whole family, that I desisted from a solicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myself, my connections, and conformity of religion with the deceased considered.

The King, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the pleasure to find the Queen in as good a state of health as he left her. He was seldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all possible care of her health *. In a letter he wrote to me some days before the Queen lay in; he says, "Bring no peo-"ple of business with you at this time: no men-"tion must be made of it during the first week of "my wife's lying in; we shall have sufficient em-"ployment to hinder her from getting cold"

At length the moment that was to fill the King, the Queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arrived; the Queen was, on the 17th of September †, delivered of a son, whose strong health, as well as the Queen's, filled the kingdom with the most agreeable hopes ‡. I believe I may venture to affirm,

* "We read," says Bayle, in the Rep. de Lett. for January 1686, "that Henry recommended to Louisa Bourgeois, a very skilful mid-"wife who laid the Queen, to perform her office so carefully, as that "there might be no occasion for employing a man-midwife. Since "this," added he, "would shock female modesty."

† On Thursday night, about midnight.

‡ Perefixe says, "The King, imploring the blessing of heaven "upon the infant, gave him also his own benediction, and put his "sword into his hand, praying God, that he would be pleased to "give him grace to make use of it only for his glory, and the defence "of

firm, that this incident gave me more joy than any one elſe. I was attached to the King's perſon by the moſt tender ties of affection, an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the moſt faithful of his ſubjects, and was therefore more intereſted in his happineſs. He was ſo well convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his ſon in a billet, which, at ten o'clock at night, he ſent from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only theſe few words: "The Queen is juſt delivered of a ſon; I ſend you "the news that you may rejoice with me." Beſides this billet, which he wrote as to a friend, he ſent me another the next morning by La-Varenne, as grand maſter of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an occaſion of inexpreſſible delight to him, "Not ſo much," ſaid he, "for the near concern I have in this incident, "as for the general good of my ſubjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the arſenal; which was performed in ſuch a manner, that the report was heard even at Fontainebleau. On this occaſion it was not neceſſary to order public rejoicings: all his Majeſty's ſubjects, from the firſt to the meaneſt, concurred in giving demonſtrations of it in which fear and policy had no part.

The King's ſatisfaction was only interrupted by a ſlight indiſpoſition, which he had drawn upon himſelf. La-Riviere was his firſt phyſician, a man who had little more religion than thoſe generally have that blend it with the profeſſion of judicial aſtrology: yet the world did him the honour to ſuppoſe, that he concealed the principles of a Proteſtant under the appearance of a Catholic. Henry,

"of his people." Matthieu ſpeaks in the very ſame terms; "My "deareſt," ſays he to the Queen, "be of good cheer, for God has "granted us what we wanted." This writer adds, that a ſhock of an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. Tom. 2. l. 3. p. 441.

who

who already felt a tenderneſs for his ſon, that filled him with an eager anxiety to know his fate, having heard that La-Riviere had often ſucceeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate the Dauphin's nativity, with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully ſought for the moſt excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared, that the King thought no more of this deſign till about a fortnight after, when he and I being alone together, the converſation turned upon the predictions of La-Broſſe, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning his Majeſty and me, which we had found ſo exactly accompliſhed. Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his ſon receiving new ſtrength by this diſcourſe, he ordered La Riviere to be ſent for.

The phyſician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in his work. "M. de La-Riviere," ſaid the King to him, "we have been talking of "aſtrology; what have you diſcovered concern-"ing my ſon?" "I had begun my calculations," replied La-Riviere, "but I left them unfiniſhed, "not caring any longer to amuſe myſelf with a "ſcience which I have always believed to be in "ſome degree criminal." The King immediately diſcovered, that this anſwer was not ſincere, and that he concealed his thoughts either through an apprehenſion of offending his Majeſty, or from an effect of ill humour, whim, or the caution of an aſtrologer, who held it dangerous to diſcloſe his ſecrets. "I ſee plainly," ſaid Henry, "that you "are not reſtrained by motives of conſcience; "you are not of the number of perſons that are "ſo very ſcrupulous; but, in reality, you are a-"fraid of not being able to tell me the truth, or "of making me angry; but, whatever it be, I will "know it, and I command you, on my diſplea-"ſure, to ſpeak freely." La-Riviere ſuffered himſelf

ſelf to be preſſed ſtill longer; and at laſt, with a diſcontented air, either real or diſſembled, ſaid, "Sire, your ſon will live out the common age of "a man, and will reign longer than you; but his "inclination and yours will be very different; he "will be obſtinate in his opinions, often governed "by his own whims, and ſometimes by thoſe of "others: it will be ſafer then to think than to "ſpeak: impending ruin threatens your former ſo-"ciety: all the effects of your prudence will be "deſtroyed: he will perform great things, will be "fortunate in his deſigns, and make a great figure "in Europe: in his time there will be a viciſſitude "of peace and war: he will have children; and af-"ter him things will grow worſe. This is all you can "know from me, and more than I had reſolved to "tell you." The King after muſing a little while on what he had heard, ſaid to La Riviere, "You "mean the Proteſtants, I know; but you ſpeak "thus becauſe you are well inclined towards them." "I underſtand," ſaid La-Riviere, "what you would "have; but I ſhall ſay no more." His Majeſty and I continued a long time together in converſation, making reflections on every word that had been ſpoken by La-Riviere, which remained ſtrongly on the King's mind.

It was not poſſible for me to ſtay long at Fontainebleau; but the King continued to give me, with great kindneſs, an account of every thing that happened. "You cannot imagine," ſays he, in one of his letters, "how well my wife is recovered "of her lying-in; ſhe dreſſes her head herſelf, "and talks already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he ſays, "The Queen "goes already into her cloſet; ſhe has a conſtitu-"tion ſurpriſingly ſtrong: my ſon likewiſe is very "well, I thank God: theſe are the beſt news I can "ſend a faithful and affectionate ſervant, whom I

" tenderly love *." Henry ſent his ſon to Saint-Germain to be nurſed, on account of the goodneſs of the air: and by one of thoſe little ſtrokes of popularity, which ſhew the heart better than more oſtentatious actions, he would have him ſhewn to all Paris; for which purpoſe he was carried only through the midſt of this great city. The Pariſians, by repeated acclamations, expreſſed their pleaſure at this ſight.

The King had made a promiſe to the Queen, that, if ſhe brought him a ſon, he would preſent her with the caſtle of Monceaux. " My wife," ſaid he in a letter to me, " has gained Monceaux, " by giving me a ſon; therefore I deſire you will " ſend for the Preſident Forget, to confer with " him about this affair, and take his advice con- " cerning the ſecurity that muſt be given to my " children, for the ſum which I pay for Mon- " ceaux." The city of Paris having likewiſe promiſed the Queen a preſent of a ſuit of tapeſtry-hangings for her lying-in, his Majeſty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it. An infanta † was born in Spain, about the ſame time that Providence gave a prince to France.

The negotiation ſo many years depending with the Grand Duke of Florence, was concluded this year: that the reader may underſtand the occaſion of it, it is neceſſary he ſhould know, that, under the reign of Henry III. Ferdinand de Medicis, Grand Duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles that then raged in France, to poſſeſs himſelf of the little iſles of Pomegue, Ratoneau, and If, with its caſtle in the neighbourhood of Marſeilles. Henry, fully reſolved to make the Grand

* The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is ſtill extant; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of Auguſt. Cabinet de M. le duc de Sully.

† Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards Queen of France, born the 22d of September.

Duke reſtore them, ordered D'Oſſat, who was then on the other ſide of the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1598. The Grand Duke, not daring to refuſe them abſolutely, repreſented only, that he had expended great ſums of money upon theſe iſles, which he could not reſolve to loſe: D'Oſſat of himſelf removed this obſtacle, by engaging, that the King his maſter, ſhould indemnify him for theſe expences, by paying him three hundred thouſand crowns, for which twelve of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable perſons in France ſhould be ſecurity *, as if his Majeſty alone had not been ſufficient to anſwer for ſo ſmall a ſum. The King, without greatly attending to this condition, ratified this treaty: and a ſhort time after the Chevalier Vinta was ſent by the Duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the buſineſs of the iſles upon this plan.

The two agents did not go out of the council to ſeek for their ſecurities, and the affair was propoſed to me amongſt the reſt: this method of proceeding with a king, whoſe power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me ſo uncommon, that I could not help laughing at thoſe who mentioned it to me. Villeroi took pains to repreſent to me the neceſſity of diſengaging D'Oſſat from his word. I replied, that there never had been any

* This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty that paſſed on the 1ſt of May 1598, between the King of France and the grand Duke of Tuſcany, by the intervention of Cardinal d'Oſſat, which may be ſeen at full length at the end of the collection of this Cardinal's letters. The Duke of Sully does not here reproach M. D'Oſſat with any thing which he had not already excuſed in the letter which he wrote to his Majeſty on the 5th of May 1698, immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, and likewiſe in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 4th of Auguſt following. He afterwards cleared himſelf more fully, in a long memorial, which is alſo inſerted at the end of this collection. However, we cannot think the reaſons which M. de Sully produces againſt this convention groundleſs, nor believe that the Duke of Florence would have broke the treaty without that condition.

bankers

bankers in my family; for, indeed, this was rather the buſineſs of bankers than of gentlemen. None of the others, ſaid Villeroi, have made any difficulty about it. I believe it, anſwered I, with ſome indignation; for they are all either deſcended from traders or lawyers. Hereupon there aroſe a diſpute in the council, which was reported to the King, who only ſmiled and ſaid, they had done wrong to mention it to me without firſt informing him, ſince he had not acquainted me with it himſelf. I am aſtoniſhed, added he, that he did not give a ſtill ruder anſwer: you cannot be ignorant of his temper, and how highly he values himſelf upon the nobility of his birth: let this affair be concluded without his or any other perſon's entering into any obligation. I gave no permiſſion to the biſhop of Rennes to agree to ſuch an expedient. The Grand Duke did not allow himſelf to be ſolicited upon this head; he ſet the King free from the obligation of the twelve ſecurities, out of regard to his perſon. The act for it was paſſed on the fourth of Auguſt, 1598; but the affair was on neither ſide concluded till the Chevalier Vinta arrived, in 1601.

I was likewiſe employed to ſettle certain eſtates in Piedmont, for which the Count of Soiſſons was deſirous of treating with his Majeſty; they came to him by the death of the Princeſs of Conti, in right of his wife, who was of the houſe of Montaffié. My report was not very favourable for the Count: I repreſented to the King, that theſe eſtates, which had been too highly valued, were likewiſe ſubject to ſo much litigation, and were ſo diſadvantageouſly ſituated, that theſe conſiderations ought greatly to leſſen the price. The Count of Soiſſons thought proper to diſſemble the reſentment he entertained againſt me for this declaration.

Freſne-Canaye was appointed ambaſſador to Venice, and Bethune my brother to Rome, to the

great mortification of the other miniſters, eſpecially Villeroi and Sillery, with whom I had often diſputes, which the King had many times endeavoured to prevent. Theſe two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which, they pretended, belonged only to them. The nomination to embaſſies falling under this head, they told his Majeſty, in my preſence, that, for the embaſſy to Rome, they had abler perſons to propoſe to them than Bethune, who, they ſaid, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had yet performed no conſiderable ſervice to the ſtate. My brother had, however, already been charged with the embaſſy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himſelf well; and it could not be denied that he was circumſpect, wiſe, and honeſt; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the leaſt that are eſſential to an ambaſſador. What theſe gentlemen ſaid, therefore, was as falſe as it was contemptuous; and this I made them ſenſible of in my anſwer, by ſhewing them the value of thoſe ſervices which the ſtate received from the military art, and which thoſe gentlemen ſeemed to place below all others.

Villeroi, piqued in his turn that I had not given the firſt rank to his, maintained his cauſe with great heat and animoſity. His Majeſty found himſelf obliged to command us to be ſilent, telling us, that he was offended at our holding ſuch diſcourſe in his preſence; and that, without entering into a diſcuſſion of our ſervices, we ought to be ſatisfied that he was pleaſed with them. I aſked the King's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to cloſe the mouths of perſons who ſo unjuſtly placed the lazy buſineſs of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expence of the military profeſſions; and I truly ſpoke my

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ſentiments of ſuch partiality. " Well, well," ſaid Henry, interrupting me, " I pardon you all, " and take your words, as I muſt, but upon con- " dition, that, for the future, you will avoid theſe " little debates, and that when one of you recom- " mends his friend to my favour, the others do " not oppoſe it, but ſubmit to my choice : at pre- " ſent I determine in favour of the Sieur de Be- " thune, whoſe family, wiſdom, probity, and " even capacity, I eſteem, having employed him " in many affairs, both of peace and war, which " he has acquitted himſelf of worthily." The King promiſed Villeroi that, after my brother's return, he will diſpoſe of the embaſſy to Rome according to his recommendation. He then put an end to his walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than two hours, and went to dinner. I went ſeveral times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive his Majeſty's orders concerning affairs that could no otherwiſe be communicated to him, and being often, and for a conſiderable time, at a diſtance from each other, I received, as uſual, a great number of letters from this prince : that in which he mentions the Marechal d'Ornano, who had given him ſome cauſes of complaint, has ſomething ſingular in it. " I never, (ſays Henry) ſaw " ſo much obſtinacy and ignorance, together in " one man, but I pronounced him dangerous : he " has reached the ſummit of inſolence. Take care " that he gives me no occaſion to be convinced " what he is, that is, unworthy of the honours " that I have beſtowed on him : his fidelity only " could deſerve them ; his many acts of diſobedi- " ence will ſoon take away all claim to that cha- " racter : to ſay the truth, I am quite tired of " him." The ſtates of Languedoc meeting this year, the King wrote to me, that he muſt transfer the place of their ſitting to the Lower Languedoc, " that my ſervants, (ſaid he,) may not go firſt to

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"thoſe of the league." In another letter, he ordered me to ſend for ſome foals of his breed of horſes * at Meun; and in another, to give two hundred crowns to Garnier his preacher in advent and lent; the reſt, which contain only a detail of ſlight circumſtances, I ſuppreſs, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance and attention of this prince to matters of the ſmalleſt conſequence.

I ſhall compriſe, in one article, with which the memoirs of this year will be concluded, all that relates to Marechal Biron, of whoſe revolt there was at length the moſt convincing proofs. After the

* "From his early years, (ſays Brantome, ſpeaking of Henry II. "in his Vies des hommes illuſtres, tom. 2. p. 24.) he was always "very fond of the exerciſe of riding, and kept always a great num- "ber of horſes in his grand ſtables of Tournelles, which were the "principal, as alſo at Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oyron, under the "inſpection of M. de Briſſy maſter of the horſe, the moſt valu- "able part of which was his breeding mares, wherein he took great "delight." He adds, that this prince having one day ſhewn his ſtables to the Emperor's maſter of the horſe, the latter told him that his maſter had not near ſo fine a ſet of horſes, extolling them very highly, eſpecially as the greateſt part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the laſt reigns, were the cauſe that the King's breeding ſtables had then fallen into decay, and were in a worſe condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only place of thoſe before mentioned, where horſes were bred for the King's uſe; and theſe ſtables were very inconſiderable, as may be ſeen from the archieves of the ſecretary of the King's houſehold, which are kept at Petitſperes in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to diſtinguiſh it from another Meun upon the Indre, that is alſo in Berry.

In 1604. the Duke de Bellegarde, maſter of the horſe, cauſed Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding ſtables, to remove the King's ſet of mares to St. Leger, a foreſt belonging to the crown. In 1618. ſome conſiderable additions and improvements were made; and greater ſtill about 1665. when the late M. Colbert, miniſter of ſtate, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of ſtoned horſes and young colts, by means of Alain de Garſault, who was then captain. It continued in this ſtate till 1715. at which time it began to be ſettled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garſault, Lewis de Loraine, Count d'Armagnac being then maſter of the horſe in France: ſince this laſt eſtabliſhment, it has every day more the appearance of the ſtables of the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

King

King had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt this Marechal, his Majeſty had a private converſation with him in the convent of the Cordeliers, and appeared ſo well informed of all his tranſactions with the Duke of Savoy, that Biron, either becauſe he then thought, that, after ſuch a diſcovery, all he could now do was to repair his fault, or that he ſought only to deceive the King, confeſſed to him, that he had not been able to reſiſt the offers made to him by the Duke of Savoy, joined to his promiſe of giving him the Princeſs * his daughter to wife. He aſked the King's pardon for theſe proceedings, and proteſted to him, with the utmoſt appearance of ſincerity, that he would never again ſuffer himſelf to be intoxicated with ſuch expectations.

Henry thought he might depend upon a promiſe, which was nevertheleſs forgot in the inſtant that it was made. Biron reſumed his firſt deſigns; went, according to his cuſtom, at different times, into the provinces, careſſed all the malecontents he found amongſt the gentry, entertained them continually with the injuſtice he received from the King, and his credit, and the correſpondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into ſtronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entragues, d'Auvergne, and others †. He, who was

* The Marechal de Biron, by marrying the Duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received from the King of Spain, and that Duke, the ſeigniory and inveſtiture of Burgundy, Franche Compté, and the county de Charlois: this was one part of the grand project of both theſe courts, which conſiſted in diſmembering, in this manner, the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be ſeen in Vitorio Siri, Mem. rec. vol. 1. p. 103, 127. who likewiſe extols the ſervices which the Count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occaſion, to Henry IV. during his embaſſy at Rome.

† The author ſays nothing, in all this account, of the conſpiracy of the Marechal Biron, his impriſonment, and the proceſs againſt him, but what is confirmed by the hiſtories and memoirs of that time-

was pride and fierceneſs itſelf, laid ſuch a reſtraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the ſoldiers the moſt humane and affable man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee; for what appearance will not ambition aſſume to attain its end? Hitherto, however, it might ſtill have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his deſigns within his own breaſt, and if this conduct was not an effect of that diſpoſition which is obſervable in many perſons, who, by their diſcourſe, appear reſtleſs, diſturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themſelves headlong into rebellion.

Hence aroſe Henry's ſuſpence concerning the conduct of Marechal Biron, though he ſtill continued to have him carefully obſerved, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him, of his conduct in the laſt journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had paſſed the end of the preceding year, and the beginning of this. Biron, who, on his ſide, had his ſpies at court, being apprehenſive of the impreſſion which his behaviour made on the King, thought proper to write to me on that ſubject. His letter is dated the third of January; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the King, and the injuſtice even his Majeſty did him in believing him capable of deſigns he had never entertained. He excuſed his journey to Burgundy, on account of ſome domeſtic affairs which made it abſolutely neceſſary; and aſſured me, that he ſhould leave that province in two days; he concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents. whom he had

time: they mention theſe extravagant words of his; "The King "does not at all hurt me, for I know how to be revenged on crowned heads, and even Emperors." Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. 2. p. 333.

ſent to me. This letter was too ſoon followed by inconteſtible proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought ſincere; and I was ſo far from believing his profeſſions in it, that they only increaſed my ſuſpicions.

During the King's ſtay at Calais, he received ſtill clearer and more circumſtantial informations againſt Biron, doubtleſs becauſe this Marechal, believing himſelf leſs ſuſpected than before, took greater liberties than uſual: but Henry, inſtead of taking thoſe meaſures that in prudence ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable; and reſolved, if poſſible, to bring him back to his duty, by gentleneſs, kindneſs, and ſuch diſtinctions as make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions upon the heart of an honeſt man. Biron having demanded a gratuity of thirty thouſand crowns from his Majeſty, the King thought it very reaſonable, and granted it immediately; and becauſe that no obſtacles ſhould retard the payment of it, this Prince ordered me to take proper meaſures to ſatisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him inſtantly one half of the ſum in ready money, and aſſigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

Biron thought there was a neceſſity for coming to thank me for this favour; he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the King, complaining to me that he had been forgotten, and even deſpiſed by this prince now that he had no longer occaſion for his ſword, this ſword, ſaid he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impoſſible for me to keep ſilence upon this occaſion; I repreſented to the Marechal, with a kind of reproach, that he accuſed Henry ſo much the more unjuſtly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratuity, had not diſdained to ſolicit himſelf for it payment: hence I took occaſion to ſpeak with ſtill greater freedom to Biron; I re-

monſtrated to him, that, although he ſhould even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he ſpoke of his maſter, and of a maſter who, by his perſonal qualities, ſtill more than by his rank, engaged the eſteem and reſpect of his ſubjects. I told him, that there was nothing which kings were more ſenſible of, than diſreſpect to their perſons, an envious deſire to leſſen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefits. Theſe terms were ſufficiently plain, yet I went farther, and if I did not tell Biron poſitively that I thought him both ingrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my diſcourſe. I exhorted him to encourage a nobler emulation in his ſoul, which might give him a title to real praiſes; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's ſelf beloved by one's prince and country, and endeavouring to become the object of its fear; a deteſtable attempt, and almoſt always fatal to thoſe that make it. I told him, that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the ſtate, and the public good, we might, in ſome degree, make both depend upon us; he, by his abilities for war, I by the ſhare I had in the government at home; and hence we ſhould taſte the refined pleaſure of knowing ourſelves to be either the authors or inſtruments of every public benefit. I finiſhed my remonſtrance, by endeavouring to prevail upon him to go and return his Majeſty thanks for the gratuity he had juſt received.

To all this Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindneſs, nor to repentance by conviction, anſwered only by exaggerating his own merit ſo unſeaſonably, and in ſuch boaſtful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing I had hitherto only ſuſpected, which was, that the harſhneſs of his manners, and the inequality of his humour proceeded from a ſlight taint of madneſs, for which ſo much

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the leſs allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reaſoning, it could not hinder him from ſpeaking and acting ill: what appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that, after what I had juſt ſaid to him, having reaſon to look upon me as a man in whoſe preſence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let ſomething eſcape him concerning the deſigns that filled his head. I took no notice of it, but he perceived the error he had been guilty of himſelf, and to repair it, pretended to acquieſce with my reaſons, and to approve of my ſentiments: from that moment, I ſo abſolutly deſpaired of ever being able to recall this man to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to diſguiſe from the King nothing which I believed him capable of doing.

It was always a part of Henry's character, to be with difficulty perſuaded of the treachery of any perſon about him. He anſwered, That he knew Biron perfectly well, that he was very capable of ſaying all that was related: but that this man, who, in conſequence of his natural violence of temper, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himſelf above every one elſe, was nevertheleſs, a moment after, the firſt to mount his horſe, and dare all dangers for thoſe whom he had railed at ſo much before; therefore he well deſerved ſome indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was aſſured Biron would never be induced to rebel againſt him: that if this ſhould happen, as he had already given a proof on thoſe occaſions where he had ſaved the life of this Marechal, and in the laſt place at Fontaine-Françoiſe, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew likewiſe how to ſhew him that he did not fear him. The King therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him ſtill greater demonſtrations of kindneſs, and loaded him with new

honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection.

He was sent ambassador to Queen Elisabeth, with whom he had a very extraordinary conversation *. He was imprudent enough not only to mention the Earl of Essex to this Princess, whom she had lately beheaded, but likewise to bewail the fate of that nobleman, whose great services had not been able to preserve him from so tragical an end; and Elisabeth had the complaisance, in answer to this impertinent discourse, to justify her conduct with regard to the Earl, by shewing the necessity she was under to punish him: she told him, that Essex had madly engaged in schemes which greatly exceeded his abilities; and that after many proofs, and a full conviction of his rebellion, he might still, by submission, have obtained her pardon; but that neither his friends, nor his relations, could prevail upon him to ask it. I know not whether the Queen of England perceived any marks of resemblance between the French ambassador and the English favourite, but the reasonable observations in the nature of royal heads, and the duty of subjects, with which she concluded her discourse, seemed to insinuate as much; but Biron drew no advantage from it.

At his return from London, the King appointed him likewise ambassador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons; still continuing to believe, that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body so wise and politic as the Helvetic senate is, would subdue at length all inclinations to sedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are passions that can never be wholly quelled: and

* A particular account of this embassy, may be seen in Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 2. p. 426. and seq.

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had the heart of Biron been thoroughly ſounded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No ſooner was he returned from his ſecond embaſſy, than, as if he had endeavoured to make amends for the time he had loſt, he laboured more aſſiduouſly than before, to bring all his chimerical ſchemes to perfection, either perſuaded thereto by the Duke of Bouillon, and the Count of Auvergne, who had likewiſe formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To ſtrengthen their mutual engagements, theſe three gentlemen ſigned a form of aſſociation, of which each kept an original: in this uncommon piece, which was produced in the proceſs againſt Marechal Biron, they reciprocally promiſed, upon the faith and word of gentlemen, and men of honour, to continue united for their common ſafety, *to and againſt all, without any exception* (theſe terms deſerve a particular obſervation) to keep inviolably ſecret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in caſe any accident ſhould happen to either of the aſſociates. There was no proſpect of ſucceeding in their deſigns, but through the operation of Spain and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correſpondence with theſe two powers, and on their ſide, to ſecond their endeavours, went about picking up all the diſaffected perſons they could find amongſt the gentry and ſoldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the towns at the greateſt diſtance from Paris, particularly thoſe in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the ſedition occaſioned by the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre, which I had oppoſed ſo ardently in the aſſembly *des notables*, and which I had not afterwards the power to ſuppreſs; however, it could not poſſibly be raiſed according to the original plan: it had been changed into a ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand

ſand franks, of which one half was ſunk in the taille, and the other in the cuſtoms.

Biron and his aſſociates, to increaſe the diſcontent of theſe people, already ſtrongly incited by that impoſt, perſuaded them, that to complete their calamities, they would ſhortly be burdened with a duty upon ſalt; and many perſons were kept in their pay in each of theſe provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from theſe diſturbers of public tranquillity, if that of Henry the Great, ſo wiſe, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its riſe from the unhappy influence the civil wars had on the manners of the people; that was the poiſon which produced thoſe turbulent ſpirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happieſt condition, a languid inactivity: hence ariſes that reſtleſs ambition, which keeps their reaſon enſlaved, makes them murmur at heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themſelves; and raiſes their malice againſt princes, whoſe whole power, ſo obnoxious to them, is not ſufficient to gratify their inordinate deſires.

Henry's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himſelf he knew ſo well, and he began to fear he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to the moſt violent remedy to ſtop the contagion: informations multiplied every day, and came from perſons that could not be ſuſpected; all agreed in the chief point of the conſpiracy; ſome mentioned the act of aſſociation, and, having ſeen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calvairac gave the King the moſt circumſtantial, and moſt probable account that had been yet tranſmitted to him; beſides the public rumour, he informed him, that Biron and his colleagues had received ſeveral thouſand piſtoles from perſons who came

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from Spain; that they expected sums still greater, and a supply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels should begin by seizing some strong maritime places, on the frontiers of Spain; that, conformably to this plan, enterprizes were already formed upon Blaye, Bayenne, Narbonne, Marseilles and Toulon; and that the Count of Auvergne was to wait only till these were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon Saint-Flour.

All these informations made it absolutely necessary to examine the matter thoroughly. The King came on purpose to the arsenal, where he found me busy in completing the labour I had begun, to communicate to me what he had learned, and gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk. He went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the last extremities with Marechal Biron. He had for a time made use of La Fin *, to carry on his foreign negotiations, a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinsman. La Fin had been sent several times to the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon some disgust Biron had given him, he retired to his house, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impossible to gain him; and for

* James de la Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the house of Beauvan-la Nocle, "the most dangerous man," says Perefixe, "and "the greatest traitor in France: the King knew him well, and often "said to the Marechal, Don't suffer that man to come near you; he's "a rogue, he'll be the death of you. He endeavoured to accuse the "Marechal de Biron, from a jealousy he entertained that the Baron "de Lux had supplanted him in the Marechal's favour; and in revenge to the Count de Fuentes, upon the discovery of his attempting to betray the latter, for that he had caused his secretary to be "arrested: yet that he might the better destroy the Marechal de "Biron, he pretended still to have the same attachment to him as "before."

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this purpose his nephew, the Vidame of Chartres, was made use of, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his Majesty thought it necessary to take immediately into all those places through which Biron had passed, namely, Poictou, Guienne, Limosin, and especially about Blois.

La-Fin having at length resolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conspiracy. The King was desirous that he should be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be seen by none but those who were sent to confer with him. His Majesty judging by what he had at first declared, that my presence would be necessary, wrote these few words to me: "My friend, come to me immediately, on an affair that concerns my service, your honour, and "our mutual satisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took post immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his Majesty in the midst of the large avenue to the castle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myself at his feet: "My friend," said this prince to me, pressing me in his arms, "all is dis-"covered; the chief negotiator is come to ask "pardon, and to make a full confession: in his "accusation he includes a great number of persons "of high rank, some of whom have particular "reasons to love me *; but he is a great liar, and "I am determined to believe nothing he says with-"out good proofs: he accuses one man, amongst "the rest, whom you little think of; come, guess

* We may, doubtless, rank among the number of these, the charge which La-Fin brought against Biron, of his having attempted the King's life, and the Dupuin's, according to Cheron Septennaire, since his friends made use of the proofs they had of the contrary, to obtain his pardon: "Sire, we have at least this advantage," said M. de la Force to Henry IV. throwing himself at his feet, "that there "is nothing proved as to his having made any attempt on your Ma-"jesty's person." Vol. 9129. of the MSS. in the King's library.

" who this traitor is." " That is not in my " power, Sire," I replied. After preſſing me ſome time longer, but to no purpoſe, " You " know him well," ſaid he; " it is M. de Roſny." " If the others are no more guilty than I am," replied I, ſmiling, " your Majeſty need not give your- " yourſelf much trouble about them." " I believe " ſo," ſaid the King; and to ſhew you that I do, " I have ordered Belliévre and Villeroi to bring " you all the accuſations againſt you and the o- " thers; I have even told La-Fin, that I would " have him ſee you, and ſpeak to you freely. He " is concealed at Mi-Voie, and will meet you on " the road from Moret; appoint the hour and " place, and none ſhall be preſent at your confer- " ence."

I could not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from ſome of Biron's people, who ſuppoſed me to be a friend of their maſter, or from Biron himſelf, and his aſſociates, who thought it was lawful for them to make uſe of it to the Spaniſh miniſters, to ſwell the number of their partiſans; or of the malecontents of the kingdom. It was not impoſſible, that two letters I wrote to the Marechal through zeal rather than complaiſance, might have involved me in the number of thoſe conſpirators; and the rather becauſe, in alluſion to the converſation that paſſed between Biron and me, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly, that there was nothing to hinder him from making himſelf uſeful and dear to the kingdom, by thoſe meaſures I had marked out to him: I likewiſe told him, that although I was almoſt always about the King's perſon, I had never heard him expreſs any reſentment againſt him: and I adviſed Biron not to aſſert ſuch a thing publicly, becauſe the world would not fail to believe, and to report, that he only feigned to have received ſome diſguſt from his Majeſty, becauſe his own conſcience reproached

him with having deſerved it. Thus what I ſaid with an intention to bring Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my diſadvantage.

Henry's opinion, as he has ſince told me, was, that this accuſation of me did not take its riſe either from Biron, or any of his aſſociates, but from La-Fin alone, at the inſtigation of ſome perſons who hoped by that means to accompliſh my diſgrace: however that may be, it made ſo little impreſſion on the King's mind, that his Majeſty, who had lately given me the government of the Baſtile, and intended that the patent for it ſhould not appear in my name, but only in that of La-Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occaſion and cauſed it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he ſaid, but me, by whom he could expect to be ſerved with fidelity, in caſe he ſhould have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroi was ordered to bring me the patent a few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

I had a long converſation * with La-Fin alone, in the foreſt; after which Bellièvre, Villeroi, and myſelf, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs againſt the Duke of Bouillon, Marechal Biron, and the Count of Auvergne; ſuch as letters, memorandums, and other writings of the ſame kind. The names of many perſons, beſides theſe three gentlemen, were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little juſtice as mine own, which was there likewiſe, I ſhall not, on ſo ſlight a foundation, give them a place in theſe Memoirs, which, to diſtruſtful perſons, might make them ſtill more liable to ſuſpicion, than the depoſitions of La Fin. After this examination we returned to his Majeſty, and a council being held, the reſult of it was, to keep every thing ſecret, that Biron might not be warned of the meaſures that were to be taken to bring him

* Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 3. p. 482.

to court, that he might be arrested with the greater security. It was likewise resolved, that his Majesty should set out immediately on the journey before-mentioned. We shall see in the following year what these measures produced.

It is necessary to take some notice of what happened this year in the several states of Europe: the court of London was thrown into confusion by a rebellion that was stirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland. Elisabeth sent to besiege Kinsale, the strongest place that the rebels were in possession of; the Earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spanish troops in Ireland, hastened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which were cut in pieces by the Lord Piercy. Alonzo remained prisoner there, and Kinsale surrendered.

Very different reports were raised concerning the destination of the fleet which was fitted out about this time by the King of Spain, but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had rode some time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempest, and was obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, which it did in a very shattered condition: the command of this fleet had been given to Prince Doria. Probably it was designed against Portugal, where the true or the false Don Sebastian * still continued to have a great number

* There is something surely very surprising and uncommon in this perfect resemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the historians, was between the real Don Sebastian and this man, who is said to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no less difficult to guess, how he could come to the knowledge of the circumstances of the King of Portugal's life, which were so peculiar and secret as to astonish all the world. The Portuguese, still more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their king's, as also through their hatred for Spain (this last motive might likewise be applied to M. de Sully) than from any evidence they had, persisted in supporting the claims of this impostor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him, ann. 1601. p. 237.

number of partisans. Some secrets which he revealed, that it seemed could have been only known to the King of Portugal; certain natural marks upon his body, which he shewed, and some other circumstances of the same kind, confirmed his assertion. However, to confess the truth, none of these proofs appeared unanswerable; nevertheless, the King of Spain thought it the wisest way to rid himself privately of this pretended prince: so that the truth was never known, or, at least, to a few persons only, whose interest it was not to publish it.

A diet was convened at Ratisbon, with intention to make some composition between the Popish and Protestant religions; but this came to nothing. Upon the first question proposed, which was concerning the authority of the holy scriptures *, such heat was raised among the disputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The Papists maintained, that their authority was derived wholly from the consent of the church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibity to the other rights with which they have so liberally, and with so little reason, invested the Pope. The Protestants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule.

The war in Transylvania still continued disadvantageous to the Vaivodes, Battory and Michael, who had revolted from the Emperor; they were defeat-

p. 217. See what has been said a little higher. The Spaniards were so thoroughly convinced of their having discovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer scrupled to expose him as a public gazing stock, mounted him on an ass; after which they sent him to the galleys. See Matthieu, tom. 2. l. 3. p. 451.

* This question was publicly debated, during several sittings, between the Catholic divines of Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, and the Protestant divines of Ludovic Count Palatine of Neubourg, and of the electors of Saxony and Brandenbourg; the two first of these princes assisted at it in person, and were obliged to put an end to this dispute, the advantage in which, each of the parties, as is always the case, afterwards ascribed to themselves. De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.

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ed by George Baſte, and Clauſembourg was taken. The Duke of Mercœur ſignalized himſelf no leſs at the head of the Imperial troops againſt the Turks *; he took Albe Royale in Hungary, a fortreſs eſteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove away the Turks from it, who had returned to beſiege it. The Archduke †, leſs fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Caniſe; and the Knights of Malta took and deſtroyed the city of Paſſava in the Morea.

Conſtantinople and the palace of the Grand Signior, was in no leſs commotion, through the diſcontent of the Janizaries, who proceeded ſo far as to ſtrangle, in the preſence of Mahomet III. himſelf, ſeven of the favourites of his ſeraglio, and threatened to depoſe him: he was a man, indeed, whoſe vices rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, ſlothful, avaritious, and ſunk in every kind of voluptuouſneſs.

* The Duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the firſt warriors of his time. See them, as alſo the other facts that are here ſpoken of, in the hiſtorians.

† Ferdinand of Auſtria.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

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